1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

much laughter. He was quite courteous to me when I visited 361
him, but difficult to engage in conversation, and very chary of his 156
words.

Every hamlet contains one or more huts set apart for the exclu- 342
sive use of the men and boys (*tobăr*). In the Bougainville villages 562
these must be used by the boys wearing the *upi* (headgear indicating 881
that they have not finished their puberty ceremonies, see Ch. VI), 292
who are prohibited from entering any hut occupied by a woman. In Buka, where the boys do not wear the *upi*, their segregation is less rigid, but they may sleep in the 'men's house' if they wish. In both districts unattached men usually sleep there, and male [574]
guests from other villages are accommodated there if their visit extends overnight. The men say that this is a good idea because it prevents the visitors from meddling with the village women. These huts do not differ in any respect from the others (see Pl. 30 *b*). They vary in size according to the number of people likely to use them. There seems to be no fixed situation assigned to them in relation to the other huts of the village. In some hamlets they stand in line with the others, in some they are off to one side a little. In other places they occupy part of the ground in front of the line, if this can be arranged without encroaching too much upon the space needed for dancing. Any hut occupied by a man living alone, e.g. an old widower, may be used to house some of the boys if occasion requires. Where the *tobăr* is in the middle of the village, it serves as a gathering-place for the men in their idle moments.
Where it stands apart, the men tend to congregate in the front [622]
portion of the hut belonging to the *tsunaun* (chief), which has a kind of porch attached to it.

Most villages are fenced except where they face the shore. In 417
the beach villages the fence is made of stones and chunks of coral rock, in the cliff villages of saplings put in green and left to grow. It does not seem to be a survival of an old stockade, but a recent innovation, erected at the instance of the Government with the idea of keeping the pigs away from the dwellings, but as it is always full of gaps, either due to neglect or left intentionally to
facilitate entrance and exit, in most cases it fails to function. On [245]
the outskirts are planted banana, bread-fruit, and other useful
trees. Coco-nuts are not liked in close proximity to the huts, as 343
the heavy nuts are apt to do damage in falling. At some place 501
convenient for launching, there will be one or more sheds for

361 The plan of the village of Kurtatchi, with details (given in Appendix I) concerning the huts of one portion of it, will serve as a concrete illustration of many points bearing on the organization of village life. The huts described formerly belonged to the hamlet of Gomen; they were being transferred to join those already standing at Kurtatchi at the time when I took up my residence in the village.

ANALYSIS OF POPULATION OF KURTATCHI VILLAGE IN 1930[1]

621 During the nine months I lived at Kurtatchi (January to Septem-
162 ber 1930), the resident population of that village was made up as
follows:

Males.		*Females.*	
Widowers (1 young)	7	Widows (3 of child-bearing age)	12
Married adults	24	Married adults	35
Adolescent boys (wearing the *upi*)	25	Adolescent girls	7
Children	14	Children	12
Total	70	Total	66

Total number of both sexes and all ages, 136.

162 Apart from temporary variations, occasioned by the payment of
163 visits and the hospitality offered to guests from other villages,
which are of constant occurrence, the changes taking place in the
165 population during my stay were as follows. There were two births,
574 but neither of these added to the total, since one of the babies died two days after birth, the other belonged to a woman who came from her husband's village to be confined in her mother's hut; she took the baby home in a few weeks. There was one miscarriage. One woman was known to be pregnant at the time of my departure. One marriage took place, the bride coming to live in her husband's village. There were five deaths, one old man, two middle-aged men, one child about four, and the new-born child above mentioned.

167 Two men were away working as indentured labourers. Both
returned to live in the village before I left it. Proportionately fewer
●881 people were away from this village than usual, because a taboo pre-
784 vented the adolescent boys and the young men who were their
sponsors from signing on as indentured labourers until after the
464 performance of the *watawutʃ* ceremony, an important part of
the boys' puberty rites. They were permitted to work on local

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[1] I am here concerned not with demographic problems but only with the village as it was when this study was made.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

the bush. Here it is not always convenient to lie down, so a stand- 833
ing position is adopted, the man behind the woman who bends her
body forward. I have two drawings, both done by young men, [831
showing couples in this position, and on one occasion when I
observed children playing at copulation it was done thus. 532]

The bush is the favourite place for love-making. The taro 833
garden is frequently chosen by husband and wife; clandestine 195
lovers prefer the uncleared bush. This preference is the basis of
some of the stock insults current among these people. A person 578
of either sex who is angry with a woman will say to her: '*Wanits
i ratsu.*' 'You copulate in the bush', or '*Giug i ratsu.*' 'You conceive
in the bush.' (These are indicatives, not imperatives.)[1]

As far as I know, there are no periods of special licence, nor is 837
there any occasion on which extra-marital intercourse is either 786
enjoined or sanctioned with ritual significance, unless we include
the punishment of a woman in this manner for breaking taboos
connected with the boys' puberty rites (see Chap. VI).

Sexual abstinence is imposed upon certain individuals under 834
special circumstances, but I do not know of any time when the
prohibition is general. A woman must refrain from intercourse [846]
for some time after the birth of a child. The young men who act
as sponsors (*amro*) to the adolescent boys wearing the *upi* must [881]
remain continent during certain stages of the puberty rites. Absti-
nence during the previous night is essential if a man wishes to [226]
succeed in bonito fishing, but there are 'medicines' whereby the
result of breaking this taboo may be circumvented.

PROSTITUTION

I learned of nothing that could be described as prostitution 578
occurring among these people, as is perhaps to be expected in a 431
community where a partner can be obtained without difficulty.
Presents of tobacco, betel, &c., will sometimes pass between lovers, 437
but these are signs of preference, not payment for services rendered. In most villages there are some women who are known to be liberal with their favours, usually these are young wives whose husbands are away working as indentured labourers.

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[1] Other stock insults are concerned with incestuous relationships and with faeces, just as in other parts of Melanesia. Typical examples are '*No en sas a tis a tfinamen!*' 'Go eat your mother's faeces!' '*Tetop tfinan!*' 'Copulate with your mother!'

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

HOMOSEXUALITY

838 [538] Homosexual practices figure in some of the stories, in each case on the part of males. From discussions arising out of these it would appear that homosexuality is actually found among these people, but is rare, and is regarded with intense disfavour. At the end of one such story, told by a young woman, the names of two men, one dead, one living in another village, were mentioned, and also that of the father of a Kurtatchi boy who had been forced to yield to the former, when he was an old man too feeble to resist. The natives said that such people were *pipiu*, a word which from [732] its use in other connexions appears to mean 'mad', though it was also applied to a boy who was deaf and dumb. In one story homo- [762] sexual behaviour started after recovery from an illness, and the man finally committed suicide by jumping from a cliff. It was related as a fact, with the statement that it happened not long ago.

It is known that homosexual practices occur on the plantations, where indentured men may spend three years in 'quarters' without women. Some of the older people told me they did not like their young men to sign on for this reason. It would seem probable that the segregation of the boys wearing the *upi* might have similar consequences, especially considering the very intimate contact in which they live with the older men acting as their *amro* (see pp. 198–9) [839] during their period of seclusion in the bush. But my informants asserted emphatically that this was not the case, although masturbation was freely admitted. It is at least safe to say that homosexual ● [881] practices do not form part of the puberty ritual, nor do they enter, so far as I could ascertain, into any other ceremonial observances among these people.

The conventional attitude towards homosexuality in this community is definitely one of condemnation. I do not know how far the assertion that manifestations of it occur but rarely may have been due to this, but the impression I received from the reactions of the natives during discussions on the subject was that the disapproval was more than the expression of the orthodox point of view.

[585 886] Imitations of the sexual act are carried out between women at a certain stage in the marriage ceremonies (see p. 91) and in those marking the first menstruation of a girl who is *tsunaun*. These are

presence of this idea. My attention was first drawn to it by watch- 842
ing a man castrate a young European pig he had just purchased
from a trader. Knowing that European pigs are greatly prized,
I asked him why he did not leave the pig alone so that he could 842
mate it with his sow. (Pigs of mixed origin are counted as European 232
pigs.) His reply was that what he was doing would not interfere [435]
with that at all, he would get European pigs from his sow just the
same, because he only cut away the testicles (*orn*) and not the penis
(*utsin*). To emphasize his point he reminded me that all the young
males among the village pigs were castrated, but that the sows
continued to produce young. There are plenty of wild pigs in the
bush who have free access to the domestic sows, but this explanation
was not accepted when I offered it.[1] The belief in the sufficiency
of penetration was then stated, and further conversation elicited
the fact that it was considered to apply also in the case of human
beings.

Given this idea, it is not such a very far cry to the further belief 842
that conception can take place without the co-operation of the
male, and there is no doubt that this also is held. The legend, 824
widespread over this area, which traces the origin of all the people
from the two sons of an old woman who impregnated herself by
means of a banana, is literally believed. It is admitted that this
story belongs to times long past, but in a discussion arising out of
its narration the opinion was expressed among the audience that
it was still possible for a woman to conceive by means of a banana,
and the same thing was asserted by an altogether different informant
on another occasion, when we were discussing ceremonies
and taboos associated with birth. The connexion between bananas [881] ●
and child-bearing appears again in the ceremony for a girl's first
menstruation, when the girl climbs a banana palm of a species [262]
whose fruit may never be eaten by children, or by boys wearing
the *upi* (see p. 254). In discussing certain prohibitions connected
with the planting and eating of bananas in the south-eastern 842
Solomons, Ivens suggests that this plant may in the past have 824
possessed a sacred character, and supports his suggestion by citing
parallels from other peoples. He need not have gone as far afield 171

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[1] Malinowski records a similar experience (1929, p. 162). The reason given to me, on more than one occasion, for the practice of castrating the domestic pigs, is that it prevents them from becoming wild and running away into the bush, and that if they should do so, it enables the hunters who might catch them in their nets to recognize them as somebody's property and let them go.

the *urar*: 'Oh, I like you, you are my man, you are a fine fellow.' Then 292
the *urar* took his long breasts and gave them to the woman, and took 773
hers, which were very small, for himself. Before that, the men had big 539
breasts and the women small ones, afterwards, it was as it is now. The woman said: 'I don't want these big breasts, I want your *upi*. If you will give it to me I will not give it to any one.' The *urar* said: 'I don't want to suckle a child. If you have a child you must put him to your own breasts and give him milk.' Then he gave her the *upi*. She hid it in the bush. But one day a man caught her with it, and took it away from her. He said: 'You must not tell any of the other women about this.' The woman said: 'It belongs to me and to all the women.' The man said: 'No, I will not have that, it belongs to me now.' Then the man killed the woman. He said: 'It will be a bad thing if she stays here and talks about this to all the other women. I shall take this thing and put it in the bush, it won't do for any more women to know about it.' So he took the *upi*, and ever since then it has belonged to the men, and no longer belongs to the women.

CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH THE *UPI*

Three important ceremonies are connected with the wearing 292
of the *upi*, each of which must be gone through by every boy,
be he *tsunaun* or commoner. The first is called *wapi* (= *wa-upi*, 881
to make *upi*), and celebrates the putting on of the hat. The second, held after a period of years, is the *watawutʃ*, which removes some of the restrictions placed upon the boys wearing the *upi*; of the three it is considered by far the most important. The third, held at some convenient time after the *watawutʃ*, is called *wasipsip* (*wa-* verbal prefix, *sipsip* = comb); at it the *upi* is finally removed. I was fortunate enough to have two opportunities of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, which I can therefore describe from personal observation, but of the other two I can give only an account compiled from notes of numerous discussions.

The first two ceremonies are held for the boys from a group of 621
villages together, the third may be held for two or three, or even for
a single individual, should he for some special reason wish to dis- 881
card his *upi* at a given time. A boy must return to the group with which he went through the *wapi* ceremony when the time comes for the *watawutʃ*, even though his family may in the meantime have moved to a village belonging to another group. Thus there was a boy at Tabut, who did not share the ceremonies with the other boys of this village, but attended those of the Ruri group,

621 because his father was living at Ruri when the *wapi* ceremony was held there.

●881 With the village of Kurtatchi are associated those of Bebekes, Tabut, Tensoa, Wantoa, Munlus, Baniata, Bonona, Musang, Soringar, and Togaragar. These are all situated on the strip of coast between Kurtatchi and Buka Passage, covering a length of perhaps six or seven miles of it. The six hamlets comprising the village of Ruri, next to Kurtatchi on the eastern side, about three to four miles away, form a group of their own, and the string of villages still farther east, between Ruri and the island of Tiop at the north-eastern corner of Bougainville, are also a group by themselves. Another consists of the villages on the foot-hills to the south of Soraken Bay, but not including those of the Kunua district still farther to the south, which again form a separate group. I had no opportunity of ascertaining how far this custom continues beyond the Kunua district on the western side of Bougainville. On the eastern side it extends beyond the north-eastern corner for a few miles only, I believe.

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184 The hats are not worn on Buka or on any of its adjacent islands, but a ceremony having some features similar to the *wapi* ceremony takes place at intervals. It has been witnessed and described by Mr. Gordon Thomas (1931, p. 226 ff.). I could obtain no more than the most meagre scraps of information about it from the people of Petats. At Lontis, on the north-west coast of Buka, I was told that the boys put on the hat for one month, and stay in the bush while wearing it; the day after the month is finished they come back to the village and the hats are burnt at night, in secret. The following account was obtained at Kurtatchi, and applies to all the groups described in the previous paragraph.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 As both the *wapi* ceremonies held during my residence took place at a distance, I was not able to witness the preparations that were made for them. Everything connected with the *wapi* ceremony is kept very secret from the women, but men and boys were willing enough to tell me about these matters when there were no women within earshot. The listeners were quick to criticize or prompt the narrator, and as accounts received in different villages tally in essentials, I think the details are reliable, though there may be omissions, either inadvertent or intentional.

It was always made clear that the taboo on knowing about these things did not apply to me, as a white woman, but only to the women of their own people, so I have no reason to think that anything was purposely concealed. 881]

A boy usually goes through the *wapi* ceremony at the age of about eight or nine, judging from the size of the younger of those wearing it (Pl. 20 *a*). But if there is a shortage of food and no ceremony is being held, or if his family are unable to take their share in providing the necessary payments, both in ceremonial currency and in food, his participation may be delayed until he is a good deal older. Some children undergo it still younger, but if, on being sent to the bush for the seclusion preceding the ceremony, they cry for their mothers, they are sent back to wait for a subsequent occasion. One small boy at Kurtatchi who had been thus sent home was only about seven at the time of my visit, though the *wapi* had been held some time back. The *upi* which had been prepared for him was hidden in the bush, where it still remained when the account was given to me. As a rule, every boy from those about nine up to those almost arrived at young manhood (Pl. 20 *b*) will be found wearing the hat. The decision as to whether a boy shall put on the hat at a forthcoming *wapi* ceremony rests with the boy's father, and depends partly upon whether he possesses the necessary length of ceremonial currency (*imun*) which he must pay to one of the old men of *tsunaun* rank to make the boy an *upi*. This man must not be a member of the boy's lineage. [436]

The *wapi* ceremony is preceded by a period of seclusion in the depths of the bush. The day upon which the boys must go to the bush is fixed at the discretion of the *tsunaun tʃan*, that is, the leading man of rank in the group of villages concerned, who will arrange it when a suitable number of candidates is available. The time spent in seclusion is called *wawilbē*. It used to last for a year, as far as I could ascertain, but of late has been cut down to about three months, owing, they say, to the fact that the District Officer does not like the boys to be absent when he comes round to inspect the village, to line the people up for payment of head-tax, and so on. One of the District Officers told me that he was sometimes asked to give permission for the boys to be absent from such a roll-call for three months, and to ask any other officers who might be visiting the village not to require their presence; this he was willing to do. [565] 881 648 651

881 [565] Before he goes into the bush, each novice is put under the care of an older man who is called his *amro*. The *amro* are all appointed by the *tsunaun*. Any adult man is eligible for this office. He is supposed to belong to a clan different from that of the novice, but this rule is not strictly adhered to, for in the list I obtained of novices and their *amro* belonging to the village of Kurtatchi, several pairs were of the same clan. One informant said that a boy might have his brother for his *amro*, in which case the rule obviously could not apply. Under such circumstances no payment [465] is made to the *amro*, but if he be not a brother, the novice's parents must provide his *amro* with a string of *imun* and his food during the period of seclusion. If there are only a few novices, each has an *amro* to himself, but if there are a great many, one man may be *amro* to two, three, or four boys.

The *amro* looks after the boy during his seclusion in the bush, remaining constantly with him, seeing that he keeps the rules, that he has food, &c. He also puts paint on the boy's hair and oils his skin. His duties are not confined to the period of seclusion. As long as the boy wears the *upi*, it is the business of the *amro* to put paint on his hair for a dance, and to keep an eye on him generally. Any one who is acting as *amro* must not go away for any length of time from the village where the novice lives. Pirier, one of the young men at Kurtatchi, who stood in that position in regard to two of the boys, went off to work on a plantation, but Pinari, the *tsunaun*, sent for him back. After the *watawutʃ* has taken place this rule is less strictly adhered to.

A man who has acted as *amro* but whose charge has finished all the ceremonies and taken off the *upi* is called *kwigin*, and to these men also special duties are assigned while the novices are in the bush; in particular, they act as messengers between the place of seclusion and the village, bringing food to the boys and their *amro*, who may not come into the village.

The novices are called *matʃian*. At first they do not sleep in the bush, but spend the day there, going off at dawn, and returning to the village after dark. They cannot, however, go back to their mother's hut; they must sleep in the *tobar* belonging to their respective clans. While they are in the *tobar*, they must not talk above a whisper; it would be a very bad thing for the women to hear their voices. This time is called *pinpin*. It lasts for several days.

When the *pinpin* period is over, the boys remain in the bush altogether. The men of the village set up two posts in front of 881 the *tobar*, and fix poles horizontally between them. Food, chiefly consisting of coco-nuts, is then hung over these bars. The novices come up with their amro, and walk round the poles as at a *kōma*. This is done in the afternoon. The mothers of the boys then look at their sons for the last time before they put on the *upi* and are removed from home care. There is much display of grief, which is probably not only ritual but real, for the putting on of the *upi* makes a break in the family circle. After a few turns round the poles the boys go into the *tobar*. The one who is second in order of importance goes first, and the highest in rank second. The one [565] of most importance is the novice belonging to the *tsunaun* lineage who stands nearest to the succession to the headship. At Kurtatchi it was Wakuis, Pinari's sister's son, a younger brother of the heir, Kakari. The second was Sankuro, whose descent is given on p. 77. The line of novices and *amro* pass straight through the *tobar*, and come out at the door on its other side. The *amro* take their charges down to a special place on the beach, where the boys are made to drink a mouthful of sea-water. This part of the beach [784] is reserved for them to bathe from, and the women must keep away from it.

After this they remain all the time in the bush, no longer returning to the village at night. 881 Their going away is called *watagi'upi* 784 (*watagio* = get out of the way). They make a little house at a special place set apart for them, and there they must sleep for the 342 whole of their period of seclusion. This place and the shelter built on it is called *nōnō*, and is strictly taboo to all but the novices and their *amro*, who sleep with them on the same plank bed. The shelter is a very rough construction, and is allowed to fall to pieces when they have finished with it.

Rules for the novices.

No instruction on tribal lore or on sexual matters appears to be 881 given to the novices during their seclusion, but the *amro* tell them how they are expected to behave in regard to the wearing of the *upi*, that they must never be seen without it by a woman, that they must fasten it tightly on their heads when they play roughly, that they must make a new cover for it out of *win* leaves when it gets dirty, and so on.

All the time the novices stop in the *nōnō* before the *wapi*

881 ceremony they must not play, but must sit about doing nothing, and when they go out, must walk slowly. They must not cry. This is the time when the smaller boys sometimes give way to tears of home-sickness and are sent back to await a later *wapi*. No disgrace appears to be attached to this, but only a very little boy would do it, because it means that he must wait perhaps for several years before he has another chance of putting on the hat, with all its attendant importance, and meanwhile his friends will be going through the ceremonies without him, and he would not be asked to join in their games and hunting, but would be expected to remain with the women.

Various other rules must be observed by the novices while
[302] they are in the bush. No clothing, ornaments, or decorations can be worn, but the hair and skin must be painted and rubbed with oil. They must not kindle fire; if any one does so, his *amro* must throw him on to the ground and cover his head with branches of trees, 'to make him ashamed'. They may not hold a knife or other sharp-edged tool; if they fail to observe this taboo their hair will not grow long, which would be very disastrous, since the main purpose of the seclusion appears to be to give their hair a chance to grow long enough to support the *upi*.

Rules concerning food.

There are quite severe restrictions in the matter of diet. Some of the boys told me that they had been hungry all the time. They are forbidden pig altogether. If their *amro* think well, they are given a little fish, but are allowed nothing but the heads. Taro is cooked for them by their mothers or other female relatives, but they are not allowed to go into the village for it, neither may their female relatives bring it to them in the bush. The women may not see even the *amro* while the novices are in seclusion. So when they have cooked the taro for their sons or nephews, they give it to the *kwigin*, who continue to live in the village. The *kwigin* take the food to the bush and give it to the *amro*, who meet them half-way. When the *amro* go to get the food from the *kwigin* they must not speak loudly, but only whisper. If one of them raises his voice, the *kwigin* reproves him, saying: 'Sh-sh-sh, you must speak softly, the boys have not eaten yet.' The *amro* must not come too near to the village; they meet the *kwigin* in the bush and return with the food to the *nōnō*. While they are on their way the women

must keep out of sight. In the olden days, if a woman were to meet 881
one of the *amro* carrying food to the novices, she would instantly
have been speared. Now that killing is forbidden, the punishment [688]
is that all the *amro* and all the *kwigin* have sexual intercourse with
her in the bush. Sometimes she dies under this treatment. In any
case her husband has no right to be angry or to retaliate. An occurrence 881
such as this is the only occasion when the *amro* are allowed
sexual intercourse while the novices are in the bush. Continence 834
is necessary for them because they have to put paint on the hair of
the novices, and oil on their skins. It would be harmful to the
boys if any one who had had contact with a woman were to touch
them. The *kwigin*, who sleep in the village, must never touch the
skin of the novices. The *kwigin* are not denied intercourse, but it
must take place in the hut, not at the taro garden (a very usual
practice at ordinary times). Should one of them break this rule,
the taro belonging to the woman who owns the garden must be
thrown away, and she is forbidden to cook any more food for the
novices.

Before giving the food to the novices, the *amro* must scrape off 881
the outside of each taro, where the women's hands have touched
it. This they keep for themselves, giving the boys the centre part. 565
Only a small quantity of food is allowed. The *tsunaun* novices
must eat first, commoners are not permitted to take so much as
a bite till they have finished. If this rule is broken the *amro* must
tell the *kwigin*, and the *kwigin* tell the women not to cook any taro
for the boys next day, and for the whole day they must go hungry.
The taro belonging to the *tsunaun* is kept in a separate basket hung
from the roof of the hut, and if this should fall down by accident,
the boys must go without their next meal.

Deprivation of food is also the penalty for fighting among the 881
novices. For this offence all the boys must fast for two or three
days, the time apparently varying according to the severity of the
fight. The *amro* and the *kwigin* may not eat either, nor may those
of the women who have sons among the novices. The people of [688]
the village must abstain from fighting or quarrelling among themselves;
if this rule is broken the offenders must kill a pig and make
a feast for the rest of the people.

Sometimes a woman will give some extra food to the *kwigin* and 881
say: 'You go and give this piece of taro to my son.' If this becomes 688
known, the *tsunaun* of the village will send word to some one who 754

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

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688 knows how to 'make poison', and he will exercise his skill against
754 the woman, so that she will shortly die.

The boys must have their only meal of the day early in the morn-
881 ing, before dawn. It is essential that they should have finished their
514 meal before the women go out to relieve themselves, which they
do as soon as dawn has broken; the fact that the boys are living a
long way from the village is immaterial.

881 A woman who is menstruating may not cook taro for the novices,
nor may any one else cook it in her hut. If this rule is broken the
841 novices will become very ill, and will waste away till they are
753 reduced to skin and bone. The taro must always be cooked while the children of the house are asleep. If a child cries while the taro is cooking, it must not be sent to the novices, or it would make them ill. While cooking for the boys a woman must stay in the hut all the time and watch the taro, she may not leave it even for a few moments for any reason whatever.

THE *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 When the time for the *wapi* ceremony approaches, word is sent
round to a large number of villages within walking distance,
574 inviting the men to attend. Enormous quantities of food must be provided for the visitors, for if the amount available is insufficient, serious trouble will ensue.

If there are a number of boys ready, and a sufficiency of food, a *wapi* ceremony may be held even if there are, in the villages constituting the group, boys waiting for the *watawutʃ*. But no *wapi* can take place for a long time after the final ceremony (*wasipsip*) at which the hair is cut off. Boys who are of an age to put on the *upi* during such a period must wait.

The first of the two opportunities I had of witnessing the *wapi* ceremony occurred only a few days after I had taken up my residence at the village of Kurtatchi. Owing to some quarrel, the details of which I could not understand, no one from this village attended the ceremony, though they were apparently invited, as I was asked by several people why they had not come. It was held for the boys of the Hahon villages in the mountains between Soraken and Kunua. I received news of it from Mrs. Hadden, whose plantation hands had asked permission to attend.

After crossing the bay, we started inland from the coast near Soraken Plantation, being joined at intervals by crowds from other

881

places, carrying spears, bows and arrows, knives, and trade axes,
which they call tomahawks. Those who were not fortunate enough 574
to possess these treasures carried sticks cut from the bush, with
leaves still attached to them. Their faces were painted in various 302
patterns, a striking effect being obtained by a bright red (carmine) 439
obtained from the Chinese stores, covering both ears. Nearly
every one had a spot of red (*oin*) on both temples; this is a protection against the dangers of the road.

We went on till we came to a village called Kinopawpaw. On 881
its outskirts we found a platform made of boughs, on which were
placed a large number of coco-nut-leaf baskets. These were full 574
of roast pig, cooked taro, and ceremonial pudding. Others con- 262
tained the eggs of the bush fowl (megapode), done up in leaves. Huge bunches of areca-nut, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper leaves. All along the edge of the platform there were coco-nuts. The whole effect was one of lavish abundance, as was intended. This food was provided by the group holding the ceremony, for the benefit of those who came from long distances to attend it.

Our crowd approached the platform with much shouting and
brandishing of weapons. They were met by a band who had arrived 881
before us, and a sham fight took place. Then we all sat down and 574
food was distributed. Presently a fresh crowd arrived, every one jumped up and rushed out to meet them, and another sham fight took place. This happened whenever a new contingent came up.

We remained there till darkness had fallen; fresh contingents
arrived at frequent intervals, each necessitating the staging of 881
another fight. Finally we started off down a narrow track, in single 574
file, our way lighted by torches made of the dried leaves of the 372
coco-nut palm, and the hurricane lanterns carried by our own 487
party, a less picturesque but more dependable form of illumination. The track was level for a while, then it began to go up and down, with creeks in the valleys, some bridged by logs, some to be forded. Progress was at the rate of about two miles an hour, or less, with frequent halts. Presently we came to an avenue of areca-nut palms. These trees the men in the forefront of the procession proceeded to cut down and strew over the road, though some of them were bearing. It seemed a piece of wanton destruction, but as the owners of the trees were among the destroyers, it was clearly part of the business. They did not gather the areca-nuts from the

881 trees they felled, nor pick up those that lay scattered thickly on the
574 ground. Leaving behind us a desolate scene of wreckage, we went
372 on farther and skirted the village of Tchinopai. From now onwards
487 we climbed steeply, dropping into deep valleys between
ridges. As we stood, during one of the many pauses, on a downward
gradient, we could see the lights of the men in front of us
going down into the depths, and those of the head of the procession
climbing skywards in the far distance. There must have been
between two and three hundred in single file, with torches at
intervals, their flicker making the forest into a mysterious place
full of weird shadows. It is not difficult to understand the general
dread of the forest after nightfall.

881 When we had almost made up our minds that we were to walk
all night, we came to the village of Nimbarossi. On the verandah
574 of a house by the road was laid out another store of provisions,
which were promptly distributed. The crowd then disposed itself
for what remained of the night, some inside the house, some on the
verandah, and a great many on the ground outside.

881 Every one was up at dawn next morning, and the long line continued
to wind up hill and down dale, crossing rivers—fortunately
574 plentifully supplied with boulders—at intervals. The line was
487 constantly broken by men dashing into the bush to get some sweet-smelling
301 or bright-coloured plant, which they stuck into their hair
and armbands, or their belts, if they were lucky enough to possess
that much-coveted article.

881 Presently the whole line halted and collected in a clearing,
spreading wild banana leaves to sit upon. A native never sits on the
574 bare ground if he can help it. The boys who were wearing *upi*
516 made elaborate covers for them with leaves, because it would not
824 do for the novices to see them before they had received their own.
292 The older men rubbed lime over their faces. One man produced
302 a tin of talcum powder, which was passed round, its contents being
daubed on foreheads and cheeks. Another was the envied possessor
of a pot of brilliantine, which he daubed under his armpits with
evident pleasure. They hung a wreath of aromatic plants round
my neck, which I appreciated as evidence that they did not resent
881 my presence. Presently the sound of a bull-roarer was heard in
534 the distance. I was told that this was the voice of the *urar*, and
574 that we should presently see them. Before moving on, each man
751 carefully whipped with the large leaves of the wild banana the

881

place where he had been sitting, and hid the leaves in the bush. 574
This was done to guard against the possibility of any one making 754
bad magic against them at that place.

Very soon we came to [illegible] broad track newly cleared, or rather 881
hacked out, for fallen trees, banana bushes, and creepers still 881
covered it, making progress difficult. This destruction is supposed 574
to be the work of the *urar*, and is intended to impress the women, 487
who will presently pass that way, with their tremendous power.
This proved also to be the explanation of the destruction of the areca-palms the night before. We climbed over or pushed our way through the tangle for a short distance, and then came to a broader clearing, where some large trees had been cut down. There we found a third platform laden with food. Before it was divided a sham fight took place, with much shouting and stamping and clashing of weapons.

From this place onwards the trail had not been cut, so some of 881
the men went in front to clear it. They certainly did a thorough 574
job, strewing trees and bush-tangle over a track about ten feet 487
wide. The young men in front carried a long piece of rattan. 313
When they came to a tree, they tied one end round the trunk, put considerable man-power on the other end, and tugged at the rattan line until the tree fell. If it offered too much resistance, they hacked at its trunk with axes, but most of the trees were soft-timbered, so it was not such a laborious undertaking as it looked. As each tree fell, its branches were lopped sufficiently to allow the crowd coming behind to scramble over it, then the vanguard went on to the next tree, slashing down all the bush tangle in their way. The result was certainly calculated to impress the uninitiated with the power of the *urar* supposed to be responsible for all this destruction.

Presently we came to a large clearing, also freshly cut. Here a 881
man standing on a fallen tree trunk was swinging a bull-roarer. He 574
had another in his left hand, slightly smaller; this he used alter- 487
nately with the first. [534]

As we went on we were shown stones lodged high up in the forks of trees, said to be thrown there by the *urar*, and, in two places, big holes in the ground about six feet apart, his footprints. These were to be duly pointed out to the women when they passed that way at a later stage in the proceedings.

Finally, we crossed a river for the third time. On the bank a halt was called while the long piece of rattan that had been used

881 in pulling down the trees was cut up into small bits and thrown
574 into the stream. The men were particularly careful not to let any
487 of the pieces get lodged behind boulders, but pushed them all out
so that they were carried downstream, in order to obliterate all
signs of human agency in the destruction along the way.

881 After crossing the river we went up a steep hill to a large clearing
574 near the top. This place was called Kuruwiowan, and had been
cleared especially for this ceremony. When another group wishes
to hold a similar ceremony, another site must be selected and
cleared. The place was well chosen. The ground still sloped upward slightly, and also fell away on one side, leading to a steep hill going down to a narrow valley through which a small stream was running, with another steep rise on the further side. A few trees were left standing in the main clearing, and a trail was cut down one of the hill-sides. Round the edge of the main clearing were smaller ones with rough shelters of poles and banana leaves; inside some of these there were men munching taro.

The crowd that came with us rushed up the hill shouting and brandishing their weapons; turned and rushed down again; divided into two halves which charged each other. Some men appeared carrying joints of roast pig, baskets of taro, and coconuts. They took the food up the hill and put it into a shed at the top, where a crowd of visitors promptly fell upon it. Presently there was more shouting and wild charging. A band of men from Kunua had arrived and were being welcomed in the prescribed manner. Another band, from Raua, came behind them, only to find that the first comers had eaten all the food. For a moment it looked as though the mock fight was going to become a
881 real one. This is not uncommon. I learned from Pinari later that
574 in the olden days, if the amount of food provided was insuffi-
579 cient, the guests retaliated by killing the hosts, including the
women and children, burning their houses, cutting down their
177 coco-nut trees, and spearing their pigs. Nowadays, since the
fear of the District Officer is upon them, they mostly content
themselves with growling and cutting down coco-nut trees. Up
in the hills, however, they are less amenable to discipline than
on the coast, and if the mob now assembled had really got
881 angry there might have been trouble. But being promised that
574 more food should be forthcoming, the new-comers joined the
others in the sham combats that took place at short intervals, as

soon as the participants had recovered their breath after the last 881
effort. Sometimes two sides charged each other, sometimes one 574
or other party marched round a big tree in the centre of the ground, stamping and gesticulating wildly. Their rushes were very dramatic. Some had feather head-dresses, or bunches of [292]
bright-coloured parrot feathers in their hair, which, with the paint on their faces and the green leaves covering the upi, added to the effect. Many of the boys did not succeed in keeping their *upi* on their heads, but as there were no women present, they were not much concerned. It was the first time I had had an opportunity of seeing any boys without their head-gear. The hair of many of [302]
them fell below their waists, that of others, who had not worn the *upi* for so long, reached only to the shoulders.

After three or four such rushes in quick succession, there was 881
a long wait, everybody in excited suspense. Then a man standing 778
near me said: 'The *urar* are coming now.' Up the hill came a crowd of men, accompanied by two huge figures resembling the giant figures at carnivals. Each was carried by a man walking underneath it, the upper part of his body being inside the body of the figure. One wore a very large *upi* with an elaborate pattern in red and white. The face was roughly carved of wood, blackened and highly polished. The eyes were large and round, made, apparently, of a pair of trade spectacles. The mouths of both were wide open, that of the second had a large tongue showing. They represented a married couple, the one without the *upi* being the woman; her mouth was open because she was crying over her children, as the women cry when their boys are taken from them to go into the bush for the period of isolation prior to this ceremony. The bodies of both figures were covered with long strands of human hair, cut from the heads of previous *upi* wearers at the *waripsip* ceremony. In the centre of the body was a slit through which the man carrying the figure could see where he was going. The figures finished off in a straight line just below the waist of the men carrying them, whose legs were not concealed at all. The female figure had no breasts represented,[1] and was indistinguishable from the male except for the absence of the *upi*. The hands were of wood, raised on each side, with the arms, which

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[1] This is noteworthy, as physical details are usually portrayed with great realism on the representations of the human form made by these people. It may have reference to the legend of origin of the *upi* given on p. 194. [532]

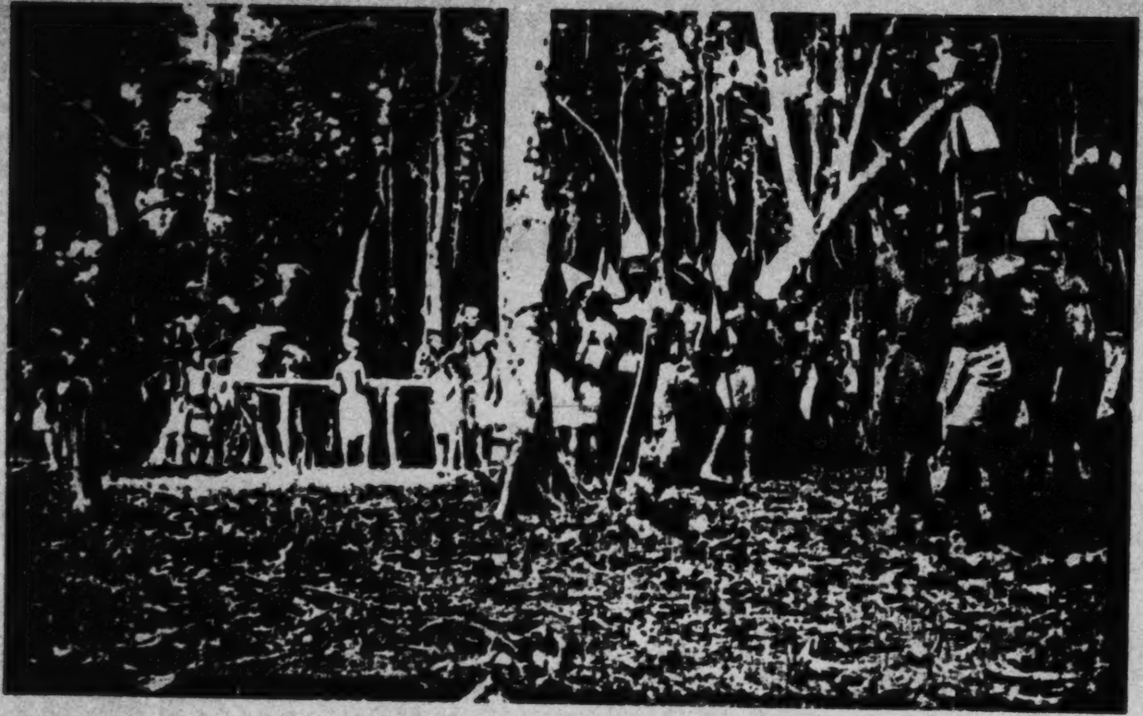
were very long, bent up at a sharp angle. The thumb was nearly as long as the fingers, and the workmanship as a whole was very crude.

Presently a third figure appeared, also with an *upi*. The three were carried up the slope to the top of the cleared space, and down again, with all boys wearing the *upi* waving coco-nut palm leaves in front of them. This was done twice. One man acted as master of ceremonies, motioning with a stick when they were to go forward and when back. He was not dressed for the part, having only the usual dabs of paint on his face. As they turned to go back up the hill after the second downward rush, a fourth huge figure joined them, coming from the lower slope. This one had an *upi* also, and its face resembled those of the others, but its body was covered with moss instead of hair. This represented the *urar* of the bush. The men who carried them made them gesticulate with their heads and bend over, pretending to grab various people, who laughed and dodged them. They swayed from side to side and backwards and forwards, exactly as the carnival figures do. After a short time spent in this gesticulating, they were carried to the top of the slope and propped up against a tree beside a shed in which were the new *upi* ready for the novices. Men brought more baskets of food and put them in the shed. Then for a long time nothing further happened.

After a while the head of one of the *urar* was taken off (it fitted into a hole between the shoulders by means of a piece of wood extended from the neck), and head and body were carried off down the hill by two men. It was to be shown to the women from a distance; they were taught that it was actually the spirit appearing to them. One of the men took me down by another path which brought us out half-way down the broad track supposed to have been cleared by the *urar*. What followed was a most effective piece of stage-managing. Far below, across a narrow valley, on the slopes of the farther hill, stood a crowd of women and children, looking up past the wreckage to the top of the hill at a group of warriors, painted, armed, yelling, and blowing conch-shells. Suddenly the men made a rush half-way down the hill, past the place where I and my guide were standing, then, at a signal from the master of ceremonies, they dashed back, then forward again, this time bringing with them the *urar* figure, carefully keeping it in the background so that only its upper part was seen. The man who

PLATE 21

[Facing p. 208]



WAPI CEREMONY: (i) FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE INITIATES

188

PLATE 22

WAPI CEREMONY: (ii) THE *URAR* MEET THE INITIATES

[Facing p.208]

carried it made it bend from side to side, and forwards, as if to 881
threaten the frightened crowd of women far below, who shrieked
and wept, not a few of them running away into the bush. Above 778
the shouting, yelling, and clashing of weapons, sounded the always mysterious and terrible boom of bull-roarers somewhere in the background. To the women, this sound is the voice of the *urar* saying that he is about to eat their sons and brothers. After one rush, the *urar* figure was taken back to the shed.

Meanwhile, some old men were cutting branches and wild 881
banana leaves, and making a rough shelter near the top of the cleared space. Then the novices, who until now had been kept in hiding in the bush, and had taken no part in the proceedings, were led up the slope from the other side, near the bottom of the cleared space. There were about forty of them, the smallest I thought not older than five, the largest somewhere in his later
teens. The small boys wore tiny conical hats made of dried leaves, [292]
in shape exactly like the dunce's cap of old-time country schools. The bigger boys had hats shaped like *upi* except that the top was pointed instead of flat. They came up in single file, and were marshalled into a group in the centre of the cleared space (Pl. 21). All of them looked scared, or at least very solemn. They had been kept in ignorance of what was about to befall them.

Some older men made a ring round the group of novices. Then 881/
all the boys already wearing *upi* and most of the other men
present made a rush at the novices and pretended to attack them, 778
with spears levelled, arrows fixed at bowstrings, axes brandished, shouting or blowing conch-shells. They retreated, and then came back again, retreated again, advanced a third time, this time with the *urar* figures in the rear. Once more they retreated and advanced, bringing the *urar* figures close to the group of novices. The men carrying the figures manipulated them very cleverly, so that they seemed to bend over the boys, pretending to seize them by the shoulder (Pl. 22). Some of the smaller boys set up howls of terror, which were lost in the general din. The effect was well calculated to impress and terrify the youngsters.

After several minutes of this performance, the *urar* figures were taken up to the newly constructed shelter near the top of the hill, and hidden behind the leaves of which it was built, the head and shoulders of one of them showing over the top. The men who had been carrying them came out from under them, leaving them

● 881 propped up against the shed. One man went into the shed, carrying two axes. [778] Another stood just outside, holding half a coco-nut shell full of some red-coloured liquid, which I afterwards ascer- [824] tained to be the sap of a certain plant (called in the Kurtatchi dialect *muntĕ*) intended to represent blood. Two men went to the group of novices and seized a boy, carrying him face downwards, one holding his shoulders and the other his feet. They took him, still in this position, up to the shed. Here they held him with his head hidden behind the leaves of which it was composed (Pl. 23). The old man inside clanged his two axes together. This represented, I was told, the killing of the boy, and as he was carried out, the man outside dipped his fingers into the coco-nut shell, took up some of the liquid it contained, and made a dab on each side of the back of the boy's head. This represented the blood of the novice, whom the *urar* was supposed to have killed. Then he was carried back to the group, and laid face downwards on the ground, on which a long row of wild banana leaves had meanwhile been spread. More banana leaves were spread over him, completely covering him up, including his head. He was told to lie still and keep his head down. Another boy was then seized, and the performance was repeated till all the novices lay upon the ground covered with leaves. One man carried the smaller boys and two the bigger ones. As each was brought up another man took the hat from his head and laid it aside. These hats were to be burned after the ceremony.

Most of the boys lay very still, but here and there a head would be raised now and then, to be promptly pushed back under the leaves by the men in attendance. After a short wait two old men walked on each side of the line, one up, the other down, howling and crying out repeatedly: '*O! O! kŏ'wa pĕnĕ to mat e na*' ('Oh! Oh! my child is dead') (Pl. 24). When each man had reached his end of the line, another man pulled the leaves off the prostrate boys, and at a signal from him they all stood up, still keeping in line. An old man came round with a banana shoot in his hand and made the motion of touching the mouth of each one. This part of the ceremony is called *ran-gan-ga*, the making alive again. The banana shoot belongs to the *urar*, who gives it to one of the *tsunaun* so that he may bring the boys back to life again; it is very strong medicine.

Then one big fellow at the head of the line, whose hair reached

PLATE 23

WAPI CEREMONY: (iii) 'KILLING' THE INITIATES

[facing p.210]

381

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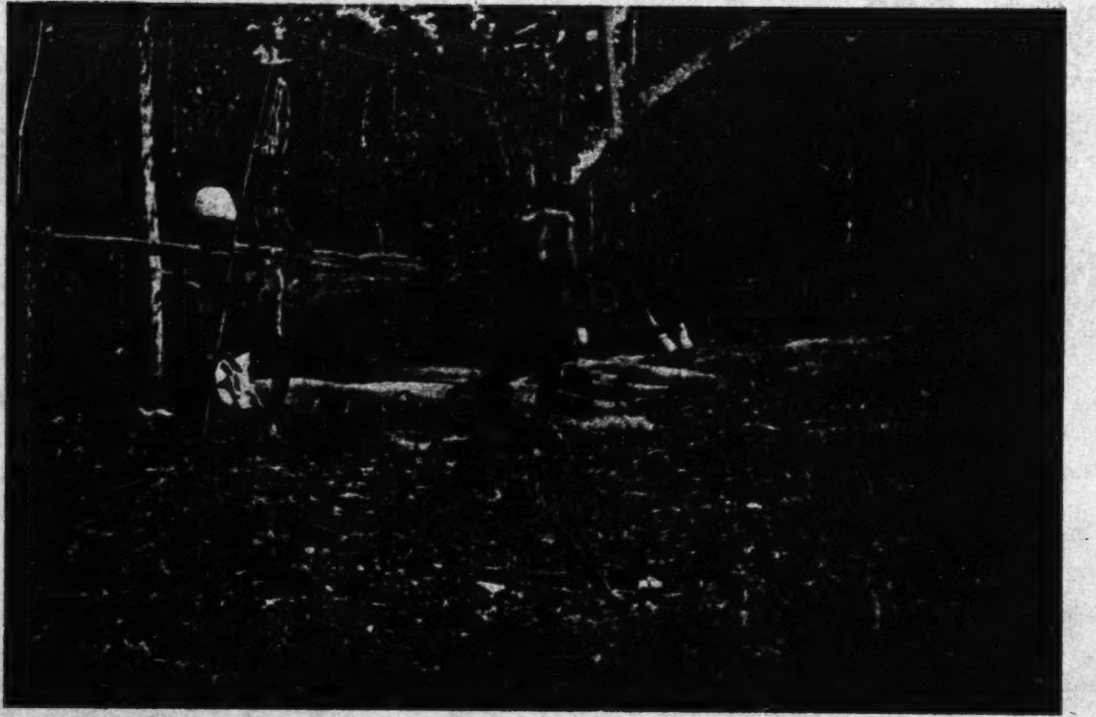
1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 24



WAPI CEREMONY: (iv) MOURNING OVER THE 'DEAD' BOYS

[Facing p. 211]

to his waist, was pulled out and escorted down the hill where the *urar* had appeared to the women. He was to be shown to them as 881
a sign that their sons, whom they believed to be eaten by the *urar*, were alive and well. He was away a long time; meanwhile the novices remained in line, standing as still as they could. Finally he came back laughing, and stood for a while chatting with a group of men beside the line, afterwards taking his place again at the head of it.

Then a procession of older men, some of them quite elderly, came up the slope. Each of them had an *upi* on his head. These 881
were the fathers or brothers of the novices, wearing the new 292
upi especially prepared for the boys. They managed their unaccustomed head-gear awkwardly, and looked self-conscious. One let his *upi* fall to the ground; this was greeted with laughter [522]
and shouting, and was evidently regarded as a great joke. They stood together in close formation, stamping their feet in rhythm and shouting. Then they walked several times round the line of novices. Two of them carried *upi* of enormous size, with very elaborate patterns on them, coloured red and white. These [778]
were laid for a second on the head of each novice in turn, one man going up the line and one down, so that each boy had both *upi* put on his head. I learned subsequently that these were the *upi* worn by the *urar* figures. They are the sign of the *wagi'upi*, [565]
i.e. the novices of *tsunaun* lineage. But they are put on to the heads of all the boys in turn because all—*tsunaun* and commoners—are going through the *wapi* ceremony together.

After this the boys' own *upi* were put on. Everybody crowded round to help to fasten them. Some had to be fixed with the aid of sticks and bits of rag, as the hair was not long enough to keep them in place. When all were fitted, the line broke up in confusion. The ceremonial *upi* were carried up the hill to the shed where the *urar* figures were. The newly invested novices, henceforward themselves known as *upi*, strutted about, evidently feeling very important, and, judging by their furtive lifting of hands to steady the clumsy head-gear, more than a little uncomfortable.

By this time the sun was getting low, and as most of the visitors had a long way to walk home, the gathering soon dispersed. The initiates went back to the bush, where they were to remain till they had learned how to keep the *upi* in place, after which, on the performance of another ceremony (to be subsequently described), they would return to their own villages.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

A SECOND *WAPI* CEREMONY

881 Towards the end of my residence at Kurtatchi I had another
opportunity of seeing the *wapi* ceremony, performed by the group
574 of villages in the mountains behind the north-eastern corner of
621 the island. The people of Kurtatchi were invited as guests, and
Pinari made no objection to my accompanying them. Our party
consisted of eight men, five of the bigger *upi* boys, and myself.
The journey was considered too long for the smaller boys. We
spent the night at Baniu. Next day we were joined by parties of
men and boys from several coast villages and one from the hills.
578 The hill-men were regarded with great suspicion by the coast
people, who took care to keep well behind them. We walked to
the accompaniment of much shouting and yelling and blowing
411 of conch-shells. All were armed, with bows and arrows, knives,
axes or spears; those who had no weapons cut themselves lengths
of bamboo to serve as spears. Pinari cut one for me, saying that he
was afraid the people of the mountains would be angry with him for
having brought a woman, so I had better be a man for the occasion.
He enjoined me to keep close to him and to do exactly as he did. Some
time after passing through Raua Plantation we turned inland.

We were quite a large party when, after scrambling up a steep and slippery hill-side, we finally reached the appointed spot, a cleared place in the heart of the forest. We arrived in the prescribed manner, in a rush, brandishing our weapons, sounding conch-shells, and yelling at the tops of our voices, and were met by a similar party of those who had arrived before us, with the usual mock combat. There were a few moments of great excitement, the crowd now numbering several hundred.

The mountain people, as they appeared at this ceremony,
184 certainly were a wild-looking lot. They have not adopted the
177 fashion of wearing a loin-cloth, now almost universal along the
291 coast, and many of them had not even the usual belt of string
or leaves. Nearly all, old and young, had their faces painted in
weird patterns of red and white; some had a smear of colour all
184 round their eyes, some a series of white lines drawn obliquely
302 across their cheeks, some had patterns carried out in dots. Several
wore head-dresses made of feathers. The adolescent boys belong-
291 ing to this group had been through the *watawutʃ* ceremony, and
so were permitted to remove their *upi*, and most of them had done

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 25

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778

MALE *URAR* FIGURE AT *WAPI* CEREMONY

[Facing p. 212]

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 26

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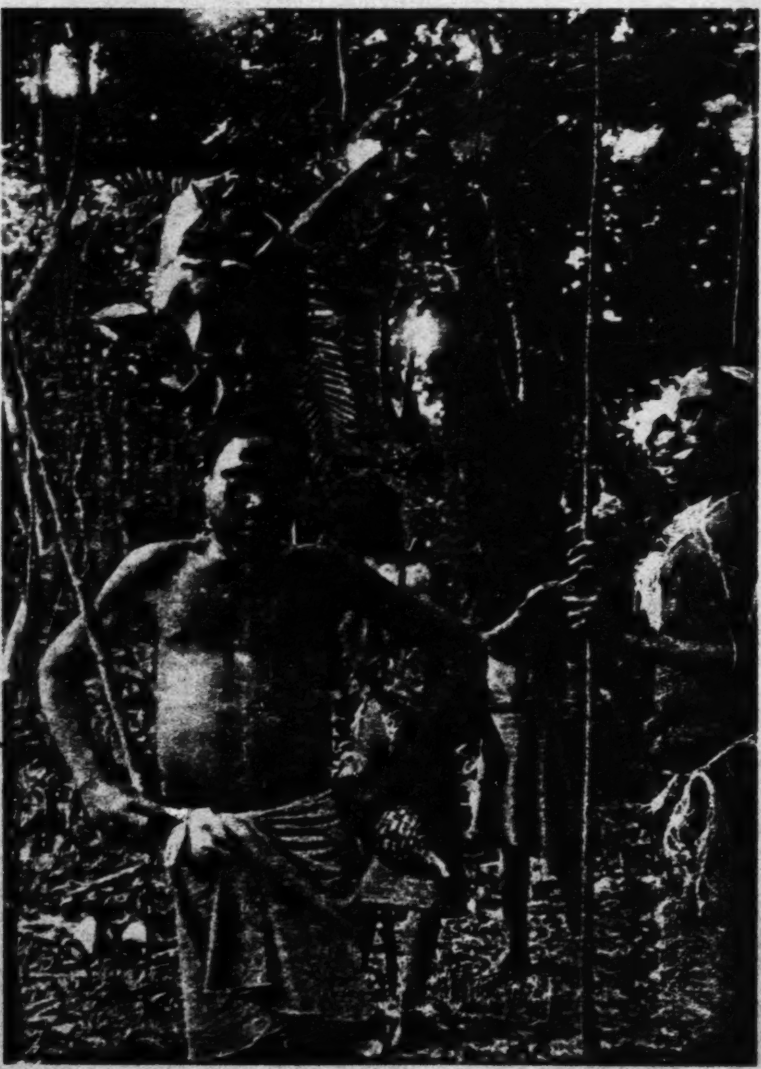
778
411
291
301



FEMALE *URAR* FIGURE AT *WAPI* CEREMONY

[facing p. 213]

184

so. Their hair fell about their shoulders in long matted strands,
reaching, in many cases, below their waists. Some had fixed a piece 302
of wood, about three feet long, across their locks at the level of their 291
shoulders, and fastened their hair to it in spread-eagle fashion,
twisting all sorts of leaves and creepers into it.

After a great deal of rushing about and shouting, the *urar* figures 881
were brought out, mounted, as on the previous occasion, on men's
shoulders. First came a male figure, wearing a giant *upi* (Pl. 25), 778
then a woman's figure, representing his wife, both covered with [184
hair cut from previous *upi*-wearers. In contrast to the female
figure at the ceremony previously described, this one was furnished 532]
with female breasts (Pl. 26). There were four other *urar* figures,
with slightly differing heads. One of these was taken away to
show to the women from a distance, to the accompaniment of the
whirr of two bull-roarers. Then the novices were brought out;
only fifteen of them this time. Their heads were bare; there were [184]
none of the conical hats such as had been worn by the novices
at the other performance. They were grouped together with
their *amro* round them, and the *urar* figures were made to bend
over them, gesticulating wildly, and going through the motions
of killing them, two axes being knocked together to imitate the
noise of the blows. This was done once and for all, to all the [184]
novices *en bloc*; there was no dramatic presentation of the boys one
by one as on the former occasion. They were then laid out on the
ground for dead, and covered with leaves. Then the female *urar*
came and gesticulated over them, bringing them to life again. By
this time the light was failing, and as there was much crowding
and pushing on the part of the spectators, it was difficult to see
clearly just what was done. I was told later that the female *urar*
was supposed to give the boys her urine to drink, by pouring it
over them, but that it was not really urine, only water. All the
boys got up and stood in a group. There had been a great deal of
muddle and delay in the earlier part of the day, and now darkness
was upon us before the ceremony was finished. It was therefore
decided to defer the putting on of the new *upi* till the next day,
when it would be done at dawn, without further ritual, they told
me. Nothing would have induced my party to stay in the mountains
all night, so I was reluctantly obliged to return with them,
without seeing this.

This performance of the *wapi* ceremony was not nearly so 881

881 spectacular as the other, though there were many more people present. They had not prepared the ground so well, and it was too flat to give the same opportunity for dramatic effect as was provided by the steep slopes of the other site. The whole thing was much less effectively stage-managed, and I was very disappointed at not seeing the end of it. But it gave me an opportunity of learning new details, and I have reported it thus fully as an example of the kind of variation that may be expected in traditional ritual as performed by different local groups.

THE *URAR* FIGURES

778 532 The figures used in the *wapi* ceremony to represent the *urar*, or spirits of the dead, are made by the older men in the bush, under conditions of the greatest secrecy. They remain hidden in the bush till wanted. They are made of wood, their faces are painted, and their bodies are covered with the hair cut from former initiates at the *wanipsip* ceremony, or, in some cases, with moss. After the ceremony the hair is carefully removed and stored again in the *tobar* for future use. The figure is burnt, together with its *upi*, if it has worn one. I have no details about the manufacture of these figures, except this small point. The man who makes them chews [824] the root of the plant *nin* and spits inside the figure, to ensure that it shall not be heavy when carried on the shoulders.

Each figure represents an individual *urar*, whose name it bears, for example Buwō, Bupsuip, Kowō (a female), and Upitomet. The last name was borne by a small boy of Kurtatchi, who had received it at the re-naming ceremony described on p. 219. The more figures there are, the more successful the ceremony. Two are not enough. On our return from a *wapi* ceremony, the question most eagerly asked by those who had not been present was: 'How many *urar* were there?'

The drawing reproduced in Fig. 7 is a young man's representation of one of the *urar* figures being carried on the shoulders of a man at the *wapi* ceremony. He had been mysteriously busy with pencil and paper for some time in the farthest corner of my verandah, and when he finally produced and explained it, begged me not to show it to any one in the village or to tell any one that he had drawn it, because the old men would be very angry with him for doing so.

778 few know how to make it; those who do not must pay a man to
534 make one when they need it. It must be paid for with *imun*
[436 (ceremonial currency made of porpoise or flying fox teeth) and
several pigs. The wood of either of two trees may be used, the
824] names of which are *iwiŋ* and *torus*; both are hard-timbered trees.
The string is called *inuts*, but is the ordinary twisted fibre string.
To sound the bull-roarer is *wawiura*.

881 The bull-roarer may be sounded during the preparations for
the *wapi* ceremony, as well as during the actual performance.
534 During this time the men of one village will sometimes go in the
778 night and sound the bull-roarer outside another village belonging to the group, whereupon the men of the second village must bring out a pig and give it to the bull-roarer party. Shortly afterwards they will go and sound their own bull-roarers outside the original village, and will receive a pig in return. This is all a part of the mystification of the women, who know that the time is near when their sons will be taken from them by the *urar*, and who believe—or are supposed to believe—that it is his voice which is heard near the village during the night, calling for the boys. If the men of any village were to sound the bull-roarer at any other time, all the other places would be very angry, and would 'make poison' against the men of the offending village. The bull-roarer is too terrible a thing to be played with, even though the men all know what it really is.

534 Like the *upi*, the bull-roarer is supposed to have belonged in
773 the first place to a woman. The story of its origin runs as follows:

A woman once went to cut firewood in the bush. When she had
539 finished cutting firewood the sun had already gone down. She picked up a piece of wood and knocked it on a log. It split in two. One piece flew up into the air and made a noise like this (here the teller imitated the noise made by the bull-roarer). The woman jumped up in a fright: 'What is that?' Then she thought: 'It is something very good. It belongs to me, I found it.' She threw away the other half of the broken

press the matter. A rather more sophisticated man from another village also refused, saying that the people would be angry with him if he did. However, shortly before I left, one of the younger men, who had been a plantation labourer, came to me secretly with one which he had made, saying I could have it if I did not tell any one he had made it. Eventually he brought me also two which had actually been in use, under the same conditions of secrecy, but with the permission of his father, to whom they belonged. Though I was glad to be able to bring home specimens of the bull-roarer, the incident shows only too plainly how the traditional sanctions are weakening. [177]

534 other 17 in. in length and 3 in. in width. Both large and small [562 775] ones are considered to be male, and each bears the name of the *urar* whose voice it is supposed to be. Thus one of those I saw at the *wapi* ceremony was called Buwō, another Upitomet, another Tororon.

[562] There is also a subsidiary instrument which is regarded as female. It is made by splitting open the stalk of a bush banana leaf, propping the two sides apart with a bit of stick and fixing the flat part of a leaf into the gap. By blowing upon this leaf in a certain manner, a sound is produced which resembles the wailing of women. The instrument has no name; they say: '*Mon to biom non*' (the [184 136] [824] woman is crying). The Hahon people of the mountainous hinterland make it in a different manner, by taking a canarium almond which has had its nut extracted by a *karib* (a species of tree rat) through a hole which the animal makes with its teeth at one end. They blow into this hole, thus 534 481 producing a similar noise. These instruments are used to impress the novices while they are sleeping in the bush. One man sounds it on one side of their shelter, another sounds it from another direction, another in yet another place. The boys think it is their mothers wailing for them, and are frightened, not knowing what is going to happen to them. These female instruments are not sacred, and are thrown away when they have served their purpose, but no one would make one for me.

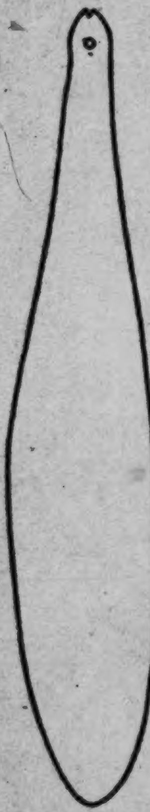


FIG. 8. Bull-roarer.

CEREMONIES SUBSIDIARY TO THE *WAPI*

● 881 Several days after the *wapi*, there is a ceremony involving the mothers of the novices (*tʃina'upi*) and the *amro*. As usual in matters of time, it was impossible to obtain exact information as to the length of the interval that is allowed to elapse. Its purpose is to allow the novices to become accustomed to managing their extremely awkward head-gear. This ceremony is called *watog* (*wa-* causative prefix, *tog* = barter). The novices take no part in it, but remain still secluded in the bush until the following day.

The women cook a quantity of taro, which must be roasted in the embers, not boiled in a pot. 881 The novices and their *amro* go into the bush and catch a number of opossums and small non- [252] poisonous snakes. These they must bring in alive. They are placed carefully in baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves. [285] Areca-nut and betel-pepper is put in with them. The *amro* take the baskets to the village. Here they form a line. All the women who have sons among the novices form a line opposite to them, carrying baskets full of taro. They sing a special tune and do a dance-step called *dāni*. [533 535] They weep all the time they are dancing, and every one who hears the singing feels sad and weeps also. It is forbidden to perform this dance except under these circumstances, so I was not able to see it or to hear the tune. Everybody agreed that it was specially fine. The *amro* then pretend to throw the contents of their baskets at the women, who pretend to catch in their own baskets. Then both lines advance towards each other, but do not quite meet, because a low palisade of boughs put up for the purpose [417] in the centre of the village square remains between them. Through gaps in it the *amro* exchange baskets with the women. This exchange of baskets is called *wasi'emor*. Each woman exchanges with the man who is acting as *amro* to her son. As the exchange is made, the *amro* say: 'You take these baskets of betel-pepper which belong to us.' The women take the baskets and run away quickly to their own huts, they are supposed to be afraid of the *amro*. The next stage was thus described: 'The women go to their huts, they think they would like to eat some betel-pepper. One woman opens her basket. The opossum inside is very lively. It bites her hand. She cries out: 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o, here is a 'possum; I thought it was betel-pepper when I took it.' Another woman wants to eat betel-pepper, she opens her basket, a snake runs after her. 'Woo-o-o-o-o-o, here is a snake; I thought it was betel-pepper.'

After the exchange of baskets the *amro* go back to the novices in 881 the bush. 553 The *kwigin* also assemble at the *nōnō*, and the *kwigin* of highest standing in each clan gives the boys of his clan their new names. He climbs a tree (any tree suitably situated can be used for this purpose), and the boys of his clan group themselves at its foot. The *kwigin* then calls out the new name of each. This name he is supposed to receive from the *urar*. It must be the name of some one who has belonged to the group and has died, and thus become an *urar*. Stress was laid by my informants on the fact that the

881
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names now given entirely superseded the names by which the boys had previously been called, which were forgotten altogether. But in practice I found that some of the boys wearing the *upi* were familiarly known by the names they had had since babyhood, though if questioned about this they always explained that these were not the 'names belonging to the *upi*', which would then be stated.

881
[824]
The *amro* will have laid in readiness a supply of certain leaves, collected from the bush. Two of these are varieties of nettle, and sting the skin if touched. These are called *bobuwiar* and *sentun*. The third, called *nes*, I cannot identify.[1] The *amro* now fetch water and soak the leaves in it. With this mixture they return to the village. By this time it is getting dark. The *amro* find the mothers of the novices in the village, and throw over them the water containing the leaves, 'it makes the women's skin sting and they cry'. The women run away into their huts and fasten the doors. The *amro* climb up on to the roofs of the huts where the *tʃina'upi* are hiding, and throw water down through the roof. (The layers of sago-palm leaf thatch with which the huts are roofed can very easily be displaced for this purpose without doing any damage.) Then the *amro* run away from the village and go back to the *nōnō*, where the novices have remained while all this has been going on. This they do by night, a practice contrary to the usual custom except on special occasions, such as the present, when they consider themselves to be specially protected by the nature of their errand from the dangers usually lurking in the bush after dark.

They sleep with the novices in the *nōnō* for the rest of that night, and next morning, at early dawn, they come back to the village and throw stones and sticks at all the huts, not confining themselves to those in which there are *tʃina'upi*. As they throw, they call out: '*Wapor wats!*' ('Throw stones!') The people inside the huts talk among themselves; they are afraid of the *amro*. Then the *amro* return to the bush.

[292]
[302]
The novices are now given hats of the same shape as before, but decorated with patterns in red-dyed leaf (Pl. 27). Their bodies are hung about with aromatic plants, and painted with the usual
pigments,

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[1] Another account gave the leaves used as *katʃan*, *kawawar*, and *lasebē*. The sap of the last-named, if applied to the skin, causes little weals. The essential thing is that the leaves shall hurt a little when they touch the skin of the *tʃina'upi*.

pigments. The *amro* of the *wagi'upi* (i.e. those of the novices who 881
are *tsunaun* and therefore leaders of the group) take up their [565]
charges on their shoulders, the others walk. They return to the
village, where everybody gathers to receive them. As they come
up, all the people dance, the men doing the ordinary *kōma* and [535]
blowing the Pan-pipes, while the women, decorated with girdles of aromatic plants, form a line, and as the boys come towards them, do the special form of song and dance called *dāni*. Arrived at the centre of the village, the *wagi'upi* get down from the shoulders of their *amro*, and all the novices partake of taro and water, given to them by their *amro*. The women are not allowed to give them food as yet. This ceremonial return of the novices is called *wawats'upi*.

The novices then go down to the shore, if it is a coast village, and stand in line close to the edge of the sea. All women, not only the *tʃina'upi*, pour sea-water over the boys' legs; this removes the prohibition under which they have been since the *wapi* ceremony, forbidding them to go into the sea. The women all rejoice because the boys have come back. The mothers pretend not to know their sons; they say: 'Before, he was a little fellow; we think this is another boy.' The boys may now remain in the village. They cannot under any circumstances return to the *nōnō*, and must avoid that part of the bush in which it is situated until it has fallen to pieces. They sleep in the *tobar* (boys' house) belonging to their own clan, and are from this time forward subject to all the rules and restrictions attendant upon the wearing of the *upi*, which will be discussed in the following pages.

For a few days the *amro* also sleep in the *tobar*. They may not 881
enter their own huts or have intercourse with their wives until the
kwigin have taken bamboo-lengths full of water and poured it out 834
in front of all the huts belonging to the *amro*. After that the *amro* 778
resume their normal life. If an *amro* has intercourse with his wife 845
during the prohibited period, the *urar* will cause illness to come upon the woman, and should a child be born of such intercourse, it will resemble the figures of *urar* that are made for the *wapi* ceremony, that is, it will be without legs, and will have two heads, one growing out of the top of the other; this refers to the head of the *urar* appearing above the head of the man on whose shoulders it is being carried, who looks out of a peep-hole in the body of the figure. It is said that this taboo is so strong that no *amro* would dare to break it.

881 574 621 The men from other villages who took part, by invitation, in the *wapi* ceremony, are not invited to these subsidiary ceremonies, which are for the villages of the *upi* group only. But after a suitable interval, usually about a month, there is a feast called *sinĕv*, to give food to all the people who attended the *wapi*, in return for their presence and the part they took in shouting and attacking. This is accompanied by a *kōma*. The food, as usual, is not all consumed at the time, but large quantities are given to the guests to carry home with them.

REGULATIONS AND PROHIBITIONS FOR WEARERS OF THE *UPI* DURING THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE *WAPI* AND THE *WATAWUTS* CEREMONIES

I. *Concerning women.*

882 689 [266] Boys wearing the *upi* may not go into any house where a woman lives, not even their own mother's. Their female relatives may prepare their food, but it must be handed out to them through the door at the *tagoan* (men's verandah). A boy breaking this rule would, in the olden days, have been killed, and his body eaten by the older men. Now they would 'make poison' against him and his father and mother, so that all three would die. This taboo on entering a woman's hut is still most meticulously kept.

882 They may not sit on the *babots* (women's verandah) or go round to that side of the line of huts.

They may not play with the girls and women in communal games, or join a group of which women form part. For example, they were not allowed to join the groups of story-tellers on my verandah whenever there were women present, so in order to induce the women to share in the story-telling I had to fix certain nights on which the *upi* boys were not allowed to come.

882 434 684 It is a very serious offence for a boy wearing the *upi* to indulge in sexual intercourse. One or two cases known to my informants were spoken of with the same horror and disgust—which I think was genuine—as was accorded to the worst type of incest. Punishment in the olden days was death for both parties. They said that until recently such a thing was unheard of—that is as it may be. 842 832 But I am pretty certain that this taboo is still strictly observed, with rare exceptions. The following incident, however, is perhaps worth recording for its bearing on this matter. One evening when

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PREPARATIONS FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

881 The *watawutʃ* is considered by far the most important of the three ceremonies connected with the *upi*. It is looked forward to with great eagerness by everybody. In contrast to the *wapi*, it is held in the village, not in the bush, and there is no taboo on the presence of the women, which is, indeed, essential to its success. All the boys who went through the *wapi* ceremony together must attend the same *watawutʃ*. Not to be able to do so is considered a very great misfortune.

881 Several months before the ceremony, the *tsunaun* of the village
565 in which it is to be held sends messengers to all the other villages
in the group, carrying a number of strips of bamboo about 6 inches
824 long, and a bunch of *win* leaves split into thin strands. A strip of
202 bamboo is left with the *tsunaun* of each village, and one of the *win* strands at each house where there is in the family a boy wearing the *upi*. This is a sign that they must set aside a pig for the *watawutʃ* ceremony. Large areas of bush are cleared and planted with taro, which is also reserved for the *watawutʃ*. The women plant and tend this just as they do taro intended for everyday consumption.

881 When the time for the ceremony approaches, preparations are
begun for building the 'long house' (*tobar tʃan*) for the novices.
346 The *tsunaun* of the village in which the ceremony is to be held
621 details certain portions of the structure to be provided by the
various villages of the group. Special importance is attached to
313 the *pa'i*, the horizontal ridge-poles supporting the roof. These
824 must run the full length of the house, and it is no easy matter to
find and bring in poles (consisting of the aerial roots of the banyan)
of the required length. Those for the *tobar tʃan* at Kurtatchi,
which were brought in while I was there, were provided by the
[804] village of Tabut. A length of fibre string had previously been sent
from Kurtatchi as an indication of the length required. They
measured 65 ft. 8 in.[1] They are brought through the bush by the
881 *upi* boys themselves, assisted by the older men, both *amro* and
kwigin. All the women must keep out of the way while this is being
313 done. Marotɛ had promised to accompany me on a visit to Ruri
824 on the day when the *pa'i* were brought, but when she heard this was

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[1] For the ordinary dwelling-house the *pa'i* would measure not more than about 40 feet.

to be done she refused to go, saying it was dangerous to walk about 881
on that day. The *pa'i* were brought to within about half a mile of
the village. They were covered with leaves, and from them depended 313
all sorts of creepers and ornamental plants, especially the 824
split leaves of the *win* palm, of which the *upi* are made. They were
laid upon forked sticks set up in the ground to a height of about
3 feet. There they remained for three days, until enough opossums
had been caught and smoked to provide a feast following their
arrival in the village.

On the afternoon of the third day, just before dusk, a crowd of 881
men and *upi* boys went out, to the accompaniment of the sound
of the *mabu* and much blowing of conch-shells, to meet the Tabut 313
people, who were bringing in one *pa'i*. There were several rushes, 621
and pretence of fighting, and much shouting when it finally reached
the village and was placed upon a stand that had been prepared for 574
it in the central space, near the *tobar*. Then all the men and boys from both villages congregated in front of Pinari's largest hut. Here they held a short *kōma*. Then they went back to the *tobar*. Presently the people of Ruri came up with the areca-palm planks they had prepared for the making of the verandah of the 'long house'. These were also swathed in leaves, and were received with another mock fight, followed by another *kōma*. Then the people of Sēlō, a group of villages farther along the road to the west, came up with two more *pa'i* and were received in the same fashion. After this all the men and boys sat round and ate pig and opossum and ceremonial pudding. The materials for chewing the betel-mixture were distributed in large quantities. There was a general air of tension about the whole proceedings, and Pinari was careful to impress upon me the importance of the occasion.

All the women were obliged to stay inside their huts, with the 881
entrance closed, while all this was going on. They kept up a perpetual howling until the *kōma* was over and the men had settled down to eat pig and to chew the betel-mixture. The howling is done because their husbands and sons are engaged upon a very dangerous proceeding, and they are afraid that some of the *upi* boys will die.

The boys wearing the *upi*, for whose benefit all these preparations were being made, held a *kōma* later in the evening, no one
else taking any part in it. It did not last very long (Pl. 30*a*). 881

The *pa'i* remained on their stand, covered with leaves and 313

881 creepers, for eight days. They were then stripped of their cover-
313 ings by the *upi* boys, and left to dry in the sun till they should be
required for the building of the 'long house'.

881 The *tartaras* (rafters) for the long house were also provided by
the people of Tabut. These were brought in some days later, with
313 renewed shouting and excitement, covered with leaves and the split
621 leaves of young *win* palm in the same manner as the *pa'i*. But the
occasion was regarded as much less important than the bringing
in of the *pa'i*, and there was no *kōma* connected with it.

881 From the time when the *pa'i* are cut, up to the time when the
watawutʃ takes place, it is accounted a very serious offence for
834 any man in any of the villages concerned in the ceremony to have
688 sexual intercourse with any woman other than his wife or wives,
a proceeding ordinarily regarded with unconcern. It so happened that while the people of Tabut were working on the *pa'i* for the *watawutʃ* to be held at Kurtatchi, a man from one of the hamlets comprising the village of Tabut broke this taboo. The woman became pregnant, and was made to tell the name of her lover. As soon as this became known at Kurtatchi, some of the men of that village took a pole and tied some fibre to it; this they left in front of the house where the offender lived, as a sign that he had been found out. He was then obliged to pay a fine of a pig to the Kurtatchi people. Two of the Kurtatchi men went over the next day and brought the pig back; it was cut up and cooked immediately, and the *pa'i* were smeared with its fat. This was done in order to obviate the harm that might otherwise have ensued from the breaking of the taboo.

881 The next matter of importance was to arrange for the making of
292 the special *upi*, to be used at the *watawutʃ*. These are elaborately
ornamented with a cut-out pattern laid on over the usual *win*
824 leaves. The cut-out is made of the same *win* palm leaves, dyed
386 with a special dye, the secret of which is known only to the moun-
438 tain people, from whom the leaves are purchased ready dyed.
When, shortly before, I had gone upon a trip into the interior, I was charged by Pinari to bring back a supply of these from the Kunua people, who were experts in the art of dyeing them. This I did, and was also able to obtain from a Kunua native the secret of the dye, after promising that I would not disclose it to the coast people, a promise which it was not difficult to keep, as they had no idea that the mountain people had let me into the secret. The

actual method of dyeing is the same as that well known to the coast 881
people, who use it for colouring pandanus leaves to ornament the
women's hoods. The secret possessed by the mountain people is 292
the use of a mordant which sets the dye and renders it more or less 824
permanent, the untreated colour quickly fading in the sun and
being washed out by rain. The procedure for dyeing the red leaves 386
for the upi is as follows: The leaves of the *win* palm are picked 438
while they are green, and are put into a length of bamboo and
dried over the fire. When thoroughly dry, they are taken out and
put in the sun until bleached white, then hung in the rafters of the
hut where the smoke of the fire will reach them. This colours
them a light brown, and also helps to preserve them, and they
remain there until needed. When it is intended to dye them, the
roots of the tree called in the Kunua dialect *boridor*, which is
the same as that known to the Kurtatchi people as *riro* (*Morinda
citrifolia*), are put, with some water, into a length of bamboo which
must be freshly cut. Some of the bark of the tree called *kaifika* in
the Kunua dialect is soaked in cold water and squeezed out into
the bamboo. This forms the mordant. (I obtained a piece of the
bark and specimens of the leaves of this tree, but unfortunately it
cannot be identified, and the quantity is too small to permit of
analysis.) The *win* leaves are pushed into the bamboo and the
whole laid on the embers of a smouldering fire. When the colour
is considered deep enough, the leaves are taken out and washed in
cold water, and then laid in the sun until they are dry. Thus pre- [435]
pared, they are sold in bundles of ten, enough for one *upi*, for goods
or tobacco to the value of about 2*s*. in our money. They are called
kokoman in the Kurtatchi dialect.

As I had not brought enough ***kokoman*** back with me from Kunua 881
to provide for all the *upi*, a trip was made to a group of hill villages
behind the north coast to arrange for a further supply. Eight of 437
the most important men of the village went on this journey. None
of the *upi* boys were permitted to go, but I accompanied the party
by invitation. We brought seven loin-cloths to pay for seven sets
of ***kokoman*** leaves, enough for seven *upi*. It was arranged that the
hill people should bring them down to Kurtatchi when they were
ready. This they did twelve days later. They were received with [576
blowing of conch-shells and beating of the slit-gong with the 533]
rhythm /// /// /// . . . /. The leaves were carefully put away
in the *tobar*.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

881 At this stage in the proceedings I was reluctantly obliged to leave Kurtatchi as my time was at an end. The remainder of the preparations for the *watawutʃ*, and the ceremony itself, are therefore described not from observation but from information received from the natives, who professed to be sorry that I was not going to see it. The details given in the following pages have been verified with the utmost care, but it is impossible to know the extent of their incompleteness.

MAKING THE *UPI* FOR THE *WATAWUTʃ*

881 294 621 As soon as the 'long house' is completed, word is sent to the people of the mountains to come down and help to make the special *upi* with the red patterns which must be used for the *watawutʃ* (Pl. 27). The Kurtatchi people call for this service from the Hahon (Wawon in their dialect, which has no *h*) who live in the foot-hills behind the north coast. The men making the *upi* do not, however, work in the *tobar tʃan*, but in the ordinary *tobar*, [554] the only condition being that the owner of the *tobar* must possess a number of pigs—not for use, but as a sign of his prestige. One *tobar* in the village of Kurtatchi could not be used for this purpose because its owner had no pigs. The other two divided between them the making of the *upi* for the boys of the different villages of the group. For boys from Tabut and Wantoa the hats were to be made in the *tobar* belonging to Kakari, of the clan Nakarib, for those of Munlus, Baniata, Bona, Mosang, and Togaragar, in the *tobar* belonging to Wasē, clan Naboin. For the boys of Kurtatchi, the hats are made in the *tobar* of the clan to which each belongs. [292] One hat is made for each boy who is to take part in the ceremony. These special upi are called *wasōbō*. The Hahon people are paid for cutting the patterns. In the olden days this payment was made [465] with specially prized stone axe-heads, but nowadays with trade knives, and also sometimes with loin-cloths and other trade goods. [436] Ceremonial currency, either of shell or teeth, must never be used for this payment (perhaps because of its use in connexion with marriage?). *The amro make the payments to the Hahon people*, and are subsequently repaid by the mothers of the initiates.

881 294 784 The time occupied in making these hats is a period of great tension throughout the village. While the work is in progress the workers must stay in the *tobar*, and the village must be kept as silent as possible. No sweeping or cleaning must be done. Each

day the women must leave the village at sunrise, and go to the bush 881
or to the shore. They cannot stop in the village while the work is
actually in progress, but they may come back at sunset, when the 294
men have ceased working on the hats for the day, and may sleep 784
in their own huts. The *amro* and the *kwigin* attend at the *tobar*;
it is their province to make the hats, the duty of the Hahon people
being merely to cut the patterns from the red leaves. These village
men are allowed to go to their own huts to sleep, and they are not [834]
forbidden sexual intercourse with their wives during this period.
The *upi* boys, who would normally be sleeping in the *tobar*, must
avoid those in which the work is being done, and find themselves
quarters elsewhere. The *tsunaun* of the village sit in the *tobar* [565]
while the work is in progress, but take no part in it. No word must
be spoken in the *tobar* while the patterns are being cut out. All the
time it is essential that the workers should be well fed, and word
is sent to the other villages of the group to bring in pig-meat for
the men who are making the hats. The *upi* boys collect large
quantities of areca-nut and betel-pepper and coco-nuts for them.
The work goes on for several days, until each boy in the group is
provided with his special hat. When all are finished, the slit-gong [202]
is beaten to let every one know that the making of the hats is over.

A story in my collection, related to me independently of any 881
discussion of the ceremony, is here given as it illustrates the state 294
of tension that prevails in the village at this time: 688

> The people were busy making the hats for the *watawutʃ*. Ten men 539
> were cutting the patterns for ten hats. A woman went to cut firewood;
> she came back, and threw her load of firewood on to the ground. All
> the men in the *tobar* jumped up angrily. They asked: 'Who is that there?'
> They said to one man: 'You go and see who it is making a noise with
> a bundle of firewood.' The man went and saw the woman, she had
> thrown down her load of firewood. The man saw her. He went back
> into the *tobar* and said: 'It is a woman, she is throwing down a load of
> firewood.' The men all got up, they were very angry, they broke the
> patterns they were cutting. A *tsunaun* said: 'Go and seize her.' Two
> men went out and seized her; they pushed her into the *tobar*. They
> asked her: 'Don't you know this thing is very sacred? You defecate into
> my hands.' (This was explained to me as meaning: 'You don't know
> much.') Then all the men had connexion with the woman in the *tobar*. [786
> When they had all had connexion with her once, they killed her, and 266]
> cooked her in a pot in the *tobar* and ate her. Then they cut patterns for
> the hats a second time, they cut ten. When night came, they lit torches;

294 they wanted the *tunaun* to see the hats they had made. All the men
686 who were *tunaun* said: 'They are good. You go now and eat some pig.
[539] You are making very sacred things.'

The teller of this story volunteered the statement that nowadays, if a woman behaved as did the woman in the tale, they would not be able to kill her, because the Government had forbidden it.
[754] They would all have intercourse with her, and then somebody
would 'make poison' against her and she would die, but it would not be known who was responsible for her death.

PRELIMINARIES

881 When all the preparations are complete, a hut is built in the
[342] bush, and the boys must sleep there for two nights. The *amro*
accompany them. During this time the boys are not allowed to eat anything except one small piece of taro. The reason given for this abstinence is that if they were to eat too much they would be too heavy to be carried on the shoulders of the *amro* during the ceremony.

881 While the boys are in the bush, the people of the village where
621 the *watawutʃ* is to be held set up platforms in the centre of the
village and cover them with food. All the villages which are sending
574 boys to the ceremony help in providing this food. Vast quantities
are required, as people come from villages scattered over a wide area. At the one to be held at Kurtatchi they were expecting contingents from the whole of the north coast of Bougainville and all the islands of Buka. Failure to provide enough food for the assembled multitude would in the olden days have resulted in a fight ending in the breaking up of the village, and even now resentment would be shown by wanton damage to taro crops and coco-nut palms, if nothing worse.

881 Meanwhile, a palisade has been erected round the 'long house',
417 so high that the women cannot see over it. Then the men go into
the bush and fetch two tall trees. Young canarium almonds are
824 frequently chosen for this purpose, owing to their tall slender
trunks, though they are not felled under ordinary circumstances, as their nuts are highly prized as an article of diet. If there is a *wapi* ceremony going on anywhere in the neighbourhood, these trees must be pulled up by the roots instead of being felled, other-
881 wise the *urar* who are about in the bush will be angry.

824 The selected trees are called *roror*. They are brought near, but

not into, the village, and hidden in the bush. Conch-shells are 881 blown; there is much shouting and calling out about the *roror*. 824 Eventually they are brought into the village and set up in front of the long house inside the palisade. If the number of boys is very large, there may be three *roror*, but usually there are only two. Each is assigned to one group of villages. At the ceremony to be held at Kurtatchi, there was to be one tree for the boys of Tabut and Wantoa, led by Kakari, and another for the rest of the group, led by Wasē.

THE *WATAWUTʃ* CEREMONY

On the day appointed for the ceremony, the amro bring their 881 charges into the village while it is still dark, and they all enter the palisade. The opening which was left for them to pass through is fastened up after them. They go into the long house, where the new hats which have been made for them have been set out by the *kwigin* and the *amro* on a number of sticks planted in the ground in rows, one row for each village.

Still before dawn, a live pig is brought and tied up at the root of each *roror*, together with a pile of taro tubers smeared with red paint. The boys are brought out, to the accompaniment of the blowing of the big pipes, and the shouting of all the men. Each boy, beginning with those who are *tsunaun*, takes off his *upi* and places it carefully at the foot of the tree representing the group of villages to which he belongs. He must then climb the tree, in order to show his growth of hair to the assembled people, particularly to the women, who watch from a distance, outside the palisade. It is the first time they have seen their sons with uncovered heads since they first went to the bush preparatory to the *wapi* ceremony, perhaps several years before. Only boys whose hair has grown very long can go up the trees. If any boy with a poor growth of hair showed himself, everybody would laugh. While each boy is up on the tree, the *amro* and the *kwigin*, standing at its foot, shake it violently, so that the boys have to hold fast to prevent themselves from being shaken off. Each remains a minute or two only, and then climbs down again, to make way for the next. As he comes down he must step on the pig which is tied up at the foot of the tree, and make it squeal. So far as I could ascertain, the only reason for the presence of the pig is to add to the general din, and so impress the people (particularly the women, who cannot see inside the palisade, and are supposed not to know the pig is there) with

●881 the importance and danger of the occasion. All the men make as much noise as they can, and the women set up a ritual wailing. My informants said that this wailing is done because the women are afraid that their boys will be poisoned by other natives, and will die; it is of the nature of a safeguard against this disaster. This part of the ceremony is called *wawan*. Seen by the light of coco-nut palm leaf torches, it must be an impressive moment.

881 302 When all the boys have been up the trees and come down again, they all go into the long house with their *amro*, who decorate them in the prescribed fashion. Their hair is covered with black paint (*tʃina*), their foreheads are outlined with white (*wiwi*) round the edge of the trimmed hair. This outline is called *wakai*. A small triangular patch of the red paint called *oin* is placed under each eye, and a dab on each ear. The mouth and chin are touched with white. A line of white is carried across from each shoulder under the arm on the other side, and across the back. Cock's feathers are fastened into their hair.

881 All this takes place so early in the morning that at this stage in the proceedings it is still dark. When dawn is about to break, the outer sheath of leaves covering the special *upi* is taken off, showing the cut-out pattern underneath. The hat designed for each individual is shown to him by his *amro*; he then puts it on, to the accompaniment of much shouting and blowing of pipes. It is essential that there should be a large number of pipes, particularly the large ones called *mabu*. More coco-nut palm leaf torches are lighted. By this time the village is so full of people that there is barely room to move. Part of the palisade round the long house is broken down to make a door. Out of this a procession emerges. [532] First come boys who are not among the initiates, carrying wooden figures of men, women, and birds. These are carefully carved, and are of varying sizes, the birds of natural size, but the men and [482] women are smaller than life (see Pl. 28). Behind the boys carrying these figures come the *amro*, each carrying one of the novices on his shoulder. If one man is *amro* to two boys, he may pay one of the Hahon people to carry one of his charges, or some member of the boy's own clan may carry him, in which case no payment is made. The *amro* carrying the boy who is second in rank (*nonorir*) goes first, the first in rank (*wagi'upi*) comes second. This is done so that the second in rank can brush away the cobwebs, covered with dew, that cross the path in the early morning.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

● 881 and the discarded *upi* are all burnt. But the strictness with which this provision is adhered to is now somewhat relaxed, and at the *watawutʃ* held at the village of Ruri before my arrival, Mrs. Hadden was able to obtain two of the wooden figures, which she 881 532 kindly gave to me. They are figured in Pl. 28*a*. They represent a male and a female, and are about 3 feet high. Two men of the village of Kurtatchi made for me, of their own accord, models of two other figures, both female, one of which is represented as in an advanced stage of pregnancy (see Pl. 28*b*).[1] The figures are called *kaisa*. Unlike the *urar* figures used in the *wapi* ceremony, they do not represent spirits of the dead, or any one in particular, and they have no names. They are never furnished with *upi*. At no point is there any secrecy attached to them. The little boys, still too small to wear the *upi*, who carry them, know all about

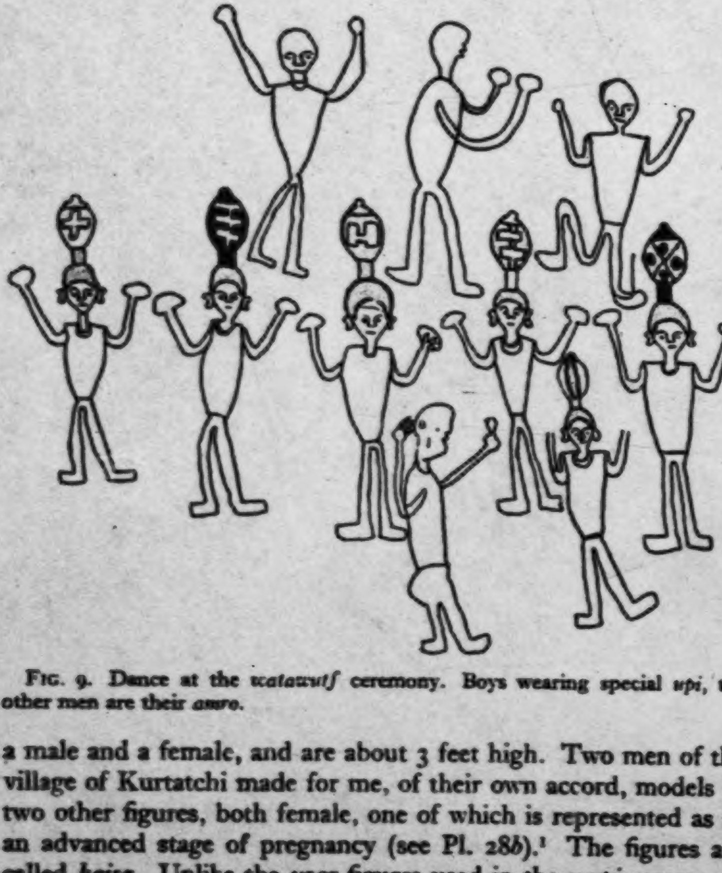

FIG. 9. Dance at the *watawutʃ* ceremony. Boys wearing special *upi*, the other men are their *amro*.

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[1] All these figures are now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

881
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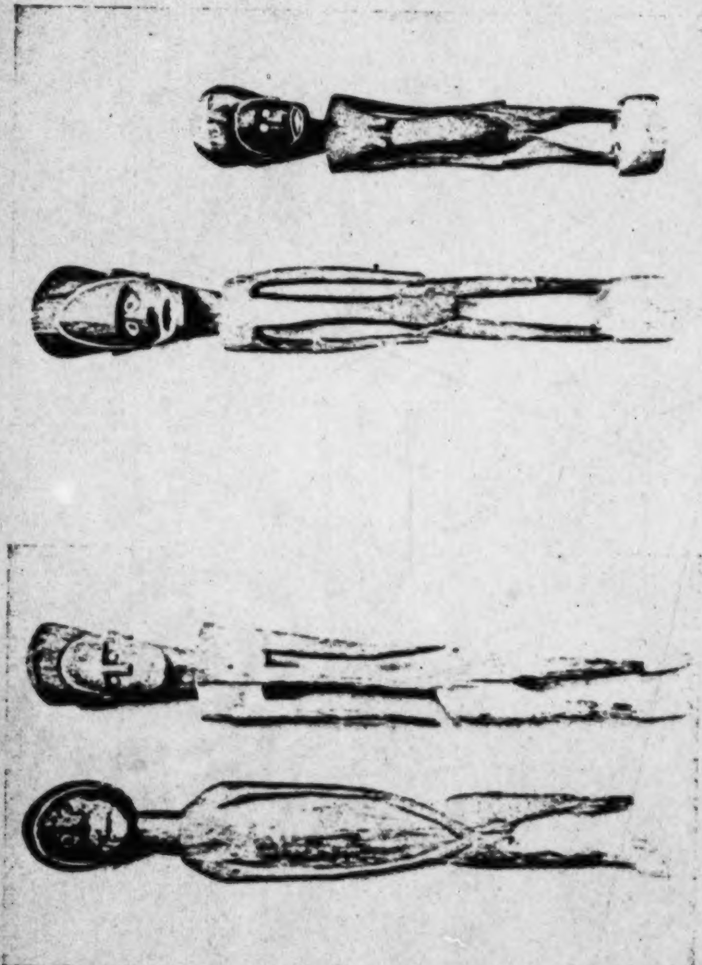
PLATE 28



a *b*

a. FIGURES USED AT *WAITAWUTJ* CEREMONY
b. MODELS OF SUCH FIGURES

[Facing p. 238]

881

them, and women, though they do not carry them, may see them without hindrance. 532

THE *WASIPSIP* CEREMONY

The *wasipsip* is considered the least important ceremony of the three. 881 If it is convenient for some of the boys to remove their hats at any particular time after the holding of the *watawutʃ*, a *wasipsip* may be arranged for the benefit of a few, or even of one boy alone, if there is any special reason for doing so. Thus, for example, a boy who wishes to go and work as an indentured labourer will sometimes persuade the elders to hold a *wasipsip* for his benefit. But in the ordinary way, the boys who go through the other two ceremonies together also join for the third.

The boys must first spend a few days, perhaps ten, in the bush. This seclusion is called *wawilbĕ*, the same word as is applied to the seclusion before the *wapi*. They stay in the bush until noon on the day fixed for the ceremony. During this time they must not be seen by the women. Food is brought to them by the *kwigin*. At noon they come to the village and go inside a palisade enclosing [346] a little *tobar*, specially made, just big enough to accommodate the number of initiates involved. The inside of this *tobar* is decorated with leaves, and strings of shell money. They remain there for the 881 remainder of that day, and sleep there that night. 302 At dawn next day they get up, and their hair is cut off by their *amro*, with a *kina* [412 shell (a variety of *Cyrena*, having a very sharp edge). 825] The hair is cut quite short, and is trimmed close to the head at the back and perpendicularly at the sides. The *amro* then paint the heads of the novices with the special pattern appropriate to the removal of the *upi* (described on p. 224). All the people *kōma*, and *mabu* are blown. For the *wasipsip* it is considered enough if there are two *mabu* only.

The *amro* take their charges on their shoulders, just as they did 881 in the *watawutʃ* ceremony. [482] No lime-pots or areca-nut boughs are carried, and the faces of the initiates are not painted as in the former ceremony. A few figures of men, women, and birds are carried round in front of them; these must be made afresh for this occasion, those used at the *watawutʃ* having been burnt.

When they have been once round, the boys get down from the shoulders of the *amro*, and go to the chief *tsunaun*, who gives them [565] water in coco-nut shells. This they must really drink, not pretend

881 as at the *watawutʃ*. After this all the people *kōma* until sunset, when the dance must stop. Then the boys go to their mother's huts. If they wish, they can still sleep in the *tobar*, but they are not obliged to do so, and those who are married may cohabit with their wives.

292
778 The discarded *upi* are burnt, but the hair which is cut from the heads of the initiates, by this time very long—some say it may be down to their ankles—is carefully stored away in the *tobar*, to be used subsequently for making *urar* figures for use at a future *wapi* ceremony.

885 This concludes the series of ceremonies connected with the wearing of the *upi*. The boys are now known as *tagutsu*, and take their places in the village as adult men.

881
TABULATION OF PROCEDURE CONNECTED WITH THE *UPI*

Native Term.	*Description.*	*Time (approx.).*
	I. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS CONNECTED WITH *WAPI*	
1. *pinpin*	Boys go to bush in day-time only, return to village at night.	Fixed by *tsunaun*.
2. *watagi'upi*	Mothers take farewell of their sons before seclusion.	Several days after 1.
3. *wauilbě*	Period of complete seclusion in bush.	Formerly about a year, now about 3 months.
4. *WAPI*	Ceremony at which *upi* are put on.	Occupies most of a day.
(i)	Visiting parties received at appointed place with mock fighting.	
(ii)	*Urar* figures shown to the visitors, and, from a distance, to the women, with sounding of bull-roarer.	
(iii)	Novices brought up and form a group surrounded by *ewero*.	
(iv)	Pretended attack on group by assembled company.	
(v)	Men carrying *urar* figures descend on novices and make the figures gesticulate over them.	
(vi)	Novices carried one by one into shed hiding *urar* figures, pantomime of killing novices.	
(vii)	Novices laid, as if dead, on the ground and covered with leaves.	
(viii)	Novices restored to life by agency of *urar*.	
(ix)	*Upi* placed on heads of novices, who return to their place of seclusion.	

Native Term.	*Description.*	*Time (approx.)*
5. [illegible] or [illegible]	Exchange of baskets between *awro* and mothers of novices.	Several days after *wapi*.
6.	New names given to novices.	Immediately following 5.
7.	*Awro* go to village and throw stinging water over mothers of novices.	Immediately following 6.
8. [illegible]	*Awro* throw stones at houses.	Dawn on day following 7.
9. [illegible]'*upi*	Return of novices to village.	Immediately following 8.
10. [illegible]	Food given to people from other villages who attended *wapi*.	About a month after *wapi*.

II. Sequence of Events connected with *Watawutj*

1.	Bamboo slips sent round to villages to ear-mark pigs.	Several months before ceremony.
2.	Bringing in of materials for building *tobar tſan*, with *hōma* and distribution of food.	When ready.
3.	Building of *tobar tſan*.	Some weeks after 2, when materials are dry.
4.	Mountain people come to make the special *upi*, during which village is in a state of tension and women must absent themselves all day.	Lasts several days.
5.	Novices and *awro* go to bush.	Two nights, when preparations are completed.
6.	Palisade erected round *tobar tſan*, and *rorer* trees set up. Food set out on platforms.	During period 5.
7. *WATAWUTJ*	Ceremony for removing certain restrictions from novices.	At discretion of *tsmaun*, several years after *wapi*.
(i)	Novices brought to village and taken into *tobar tſan*.	Very early in the morning.
(ii) [illegible]	Each novice in turn climbs *rorer* trees to show hair.	Just before dawn.
(iii)	Decorated *upi* are put on.	Immediately following, as dawn breaks.
(iv)	Novices carried round on shoulders of *awro*, accompanied by little boys carrying *kaiaa* figures.	Follows directly.
(v)	Novices offered water and taro which they must pretend to consume.	" "
(vi)	Novices taken into *tobar tſan* and given a meal. Food distributed to visitors who return home.	" "
(vii)	Novices visit huts of married people.	" "

Native Term.	*Description.*	*Time (approx.)*
881 (viii)	Ornamented upi exchanged for plain ones.	Follows directly.
(ix)	Burning of *tobar tʃan*, *roror* trees, *kaisa* figures, and the *upi* worn up to time of *watawutʃ*.	" "

III. Sequence of Events connected with *Wasipsip*

1. *watcilbē*	Seclusion of novices in bush.	A few days.
2. *WASIPSIP*	Ceremony for discarding *upi*.	At any convenient time after *watawutʃ*.
(i)	Novices return to village and enter enclosure.	At noon on appointed day.
(ii)	*Upi* removed by *amro* and hair of novices cut short, inside enclosure.	At dawn, day following i.
(iii)	*Kōma* with *amro* carrying novices on their shoulders.	Immediately following.
(iv)	Novices given water, which they must really drink.	" "
(v)	*Kōma* in which novices join.	Till sunset on same day.

Note. Parkinson (1907, p. 657) gives an illustration of some boys wearing the *upi*, with a few details of the time of seclusion in the bush, and a description of a ceremony which appears to be a combination of the *watawutʃ* and the *wasipsip*. He makes no mention of any ceremony held when the novices first put on the hat. It does not appear that he had himself witnessed the ceremony he describes, and he admits that his information regarding the wearing of the hat is scanty. But it is, of course, possible that the procedure may have been changed in the interval between his account and my own.

DISCUSSION OF CUSTOMS CONNECTED WITH THE WEARING OF THE *UPI*, AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE LIFE OF THE VILLAGE

882 182 As has been previously stated, a boy wearing the *upi* is strictly enjoined to avoid all but the most distant association with girls and women, and is forbidden to enter any hut in which a woman lives, including that of his mother. It follows that the putting on of the hat involves the withdrawal of the boy from family life. He may still come to the door of the hut and receive the taro or bit of fish which his mother or some other woman may hand out to him, but he cannot go and sit with his family while he eats it. He lives and sleeps in the boys' house with others of his kind. He therefore has no part in the two things which the members of a family (in our sense of the word) usually share—their meal and their roof.

881 182 Conversations with many native women on this subject leave me in no doubt that the women feel very keenly this break—often the first—in their family life. The ritual wailing which accompanies

881 182 the withdrawal of the novices into the bush for their seclusion preparatory to the *wapi* ceremony is not only the formal expression of their fear lest harm should befall the boys in their new and perilous adventure, but also an occasion for the shedding of real tears over the son who is no longer a baby—an intensified form of the feeling 'he isn't mine any more', of the English mother when her son first goes to boarding-school, mingled, as in her case, with pride in the boy who is on his way to become a man. With regard to the boys, it is no easier to get at the real feelings of a Melanesian youth than it is with his English counterpart, but I think that, except in the case of the boy who takes the step at too early an age, pride in his new status definitely triumphs over any regret he may feel at losing contact with his mother and sisters. An atmosphere of mysterious importance surrounds him all the time he wears the *upi*. I have often been out with a group of women when they have suddenly scattered from the narrow track into the bush, with a whisper of '*Upi!*' to make way for a party of boys returning from some ploy of their own. I have walked with women, who were carrying a heavy load, through an extra mile of long wet grass to reach the village by a roundabout track in order not to pass too close to the *tobar*. If I had occasion, as sometimes occurred, to speak sharply to one of these boys for some reason of my own, looks of horror from any woman who happened to be within hearing distance indicated that I had failed in the respect due to the hat. In all the discussions I had with both men and women, the same deference was paid to the *upi*. It has a marked effect on the psychology of the village. The women in particular seem never to be entirely free from a certain compulsion—oppression is perhaps too strong a word—connected with it.

881 826 182 [688] The *upi* itself is apparently only a symbol. The really important thing is the hair, which is pushed up inside it, and must be kept hidden under it. The purpose of the preliminary seclusion in the bush is to give the hair time to grow long enough to keep the *upi* in position, and the reason for the fear of the hat falling off or being jerked out of place is that the hair would then be seen. If a woman were to catch sight of it she would be put to death.

It is, of course, very tempting to quote the parallel of Samson, and to see in the flowing locks the source of the youth's strength, of which the glance of a woman might deprive him, but I could find no evidence that any such motive was present.

88 There is, in the *wapi* ceremony, quite definitely the motive,
familiar to anthropologists in the Duk-duk and other secret societies,
182 of hoodwinking the women. To impress upon them the great
power of the *urar* who will presently kill their sons, large areas of
bush will be laid waste, and even groves of areca-palms in full
bearing will be cut down, although the areca-nut is one of the
most highly valued delicacies known to the natives, and is far from
plentiful in this area. This destruction is clearly for the sole benefit
of the women, since the novices do not see the result of it, or at
least, not until after they have been enlightened as to the real interpretation
of the *urar*. On both occasions of my attendance at the
wapi ceremony the men took great pains to impress upon me that
I must on no account betray their secret to the women, a promise
which, of course, I faithfully kept. The question now arises, how
far are the women really hoodwinked by all this mystery? In the
case of the older women, I am pretty sure they know more than
[688] the men would like to think they did, but since the penalty of
knowing these things is death—formerly direct, by spear thrust,
nowadays indirect, by 'poison'—it is a wise woman who keeps her
own counsel. Even to me, in private conversation, they permitted
themselves no more than a tone of the voice or a gleam in the eye,
and these are the only evidence on which I came to the conclusion
I have just stated. To the younger women, I am inclined to think,
the mystery is really a mystery. The shrieks of terror which came
from the crowd when the *urar* figure appeared to them (that is, its
head and shoulders, at a considerable distance, as previously described)
were certainly not merely 'ritual feigning', many of the
women grabbing their babies and rushing off into the bush, hysterical
with terror. On my return to the village, the women made
persistent attempts to get me to tell them what I had seen, but I
was able to keep my promise to the men without offending the
women by telling them that I was frightened, an excuse which
they appeared to understand.

[534] There is no doubt whatever about the value of the bull-roarer for impressing the uninstructed. Its sound, once heard, remains a vivid memory, and even a hardened anthropologist cannot hear that ominous roar booming through the forest without feeling its power, and forgetting, for the moment, that it is caused by a bit of wood twirled on the end of a string.

The bull-roarer and the *urar* figures whose voice it is supposed to represent are used at the *wapi* ceremony only, and this is the 881 only one which is kept secret from the women. Both *watawutʃ* and *wasipsip* are held within the precincts of the village, and may 182 be witnessed by anybody.

The people say that the *watawutʃ* is held in order to remove the taboo forbidding boys wearing the *upi* from entering huts occupied by women. It also removes, as previously stated, certain prohibitions regarding diet and chewing the betel-mixture. After this ceremony has been held there is no further need for the boy to be careful about being seen without his hat. The idea is, according to the old men, that as his growth of hair has been publicly [826] shown when he climbed the *roror* tree, its length is no longer a secret, whereas if the women had seen it in the process of growth, they would not be surprised at its length when it was exhibited for their special benefit at the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

Most of the restrictions which have hitherto shut the wearer of 882 the hat away from female society are relaxed after he has been 182 through the *watawutʃ*. There still remains the taboo on sexual intercourse, which is not permitted until after the *wasipsip*. But 834 the breaking of this rule is not so serious an offence as it would have been before the *watawutʃ*. One young man even asserted that sexual intercourse was allowed, provided the boy first took off his *upi* and left it in the *tobar*. Possibly this indicates a weakening in the observance of the rule, but it should be mentioned that the [124] young man in question was not a very reliable informant, even when talking, as here, of matters with which he might be supposed to be well acquainted. Most people with whom I discussed this question were definitely of the opinion that a boy should not cohabit until he has finally removed the *upi*. The formal marriage ceremony is never held until the bridegroom has been through the *wasipsip*, although the girl to whom he has been betrothed, possibly from infancy, may have been living in his parents' hut for some time.

The keeping of this taboo imposes sexual continence upon the boys of this community not only during adolescence but also beyond it, since the *upi* may be seen on the heads of some who are, to judge from their appearance, fully mature young men. A few incidents illustrating the effect of this repression have been given in the previous pages, and some dreams reported by wearers of the *upi* are discussed in this connexion in Chapter XVI. The question

159

882 565 824 months before the menstruation ceremony, with which it was not in any way connected.

159 145 881 Owing to the impossibility of obtaining from these people any information whatever with regard to the passage of time, I cannot give the age at which girls begin to menstruate. To judge from their appearance, it would seem to vary considerably in different individuals. Nawi, with breasts not yet fully developed (see Pl. 31), had been expecting her first period for nine months or so before it actually occurred. Kiots, with little, if any, further advanced breast development, had been menstruating for more than a year. From the appearance of their breasts and pubic hair, I should estimate the ages of these girls to be somewhere about twelve or thirteen. Both had cut their second permanent molar teeth, the presence of which, among ourselves, is usually a sign that the twelfth birthday has been passed. Muben, looking decidedly older, with much fuller breasts, went through her first period about ten months earlier than Nawi, while I was told that Laia, whom I should have judged, from her looks, to be at least in her later teens, had started the flux at about the same time as Muben.

881 565 Unlike the first puberty ceremony for boys, which depends, not on their physiological development, but on the number of boys whose parents desire it, and upon the condition of the food supply, the puberty rite for girls is held for each girl singly, and at the actual time of her first period. There is also another difference. While all the boys, whether *tsunaun* or commoners, must undergo the same series of ceremonies in exactly the same manner, the puberty ceremony for girls is held, in its entirety, only for girls who are *tsunaun*. A very much shortened form, with important parts of the ritual omitted, is performed for commoners.

881 159 565 I will first give an account of the full ceremony for a *tsunaun*, as related to me by the women, chiefly by Pari, one of the most important women at Kurtatchi, and afterwards a description of the ceremony as I saw it performed for Nawi, who, though *tsunaun*, went through it in a modified form owing to special circumstances.

ACCOUNT OF GIRL'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS GIVEN BY KURTATCHI WOMEN

881 When a girl finds that she is bleeding for the first time, she does not like it, she is afraid, she hides in the bush. She runs away from her mother, and does not tell her, but her mother guesses what has

881 happened, and asks her: 'You are bleeding, aren't you?' The girl does not speak, she is afraid, but she nods her head. Her mother asks her: 'Did you see the blood when you got up this morning?' Then her mother tells the other women: 'The girl has broken.' All the women are glad. They call out, and jump about, and shout, and say: 'By-and-by we shall eat a big pig, and have a dance.' They are all glad about the girl, and as they go to work they talk about her, and are pleased.

The girl's mother gives her a little taro, secretly, saying to her: 'You eat it up quickly and don't let any one see you do it.' After [262] that she must go hungry, she must not eat any more. She is forbidden to eat taro, coco-nuts, bananas, pig, or fish, and she must not drink. All that she can have is a kind of areca-nut, which is not strong, and has water in it, so that it moistens her tongue. [824] (This is not the kind of areca-nut which is usually chewed, but a smaller variety, called *gagmorat*, *gag* = drink.)

881 Two children keep her company and go hungry along with her. 784 They must belong to her clan. Both must be too young to men- 621 struate. The girl's mother, father, brothers and sisters (blood and 565 classificatory), and grandparents do not eat either. For a commoner this is enough, but for a girl who is *tsunaun* all the village goes hungry. This fast goes on for about two days, until a certain part of the ceremony is over.

881 When the girl's mother goes to draw water in the evening, she must take all the water-coco-nuts (see p. 289) and hide them in another hut. If she does not want to do this, she must pour away all the water that is not used immediately. If she left any of it in [841] the hut, the girl might steal some and drink it, and that would be very bad for her, for then her blood would flow all the time and would not dry up. The two children who are keeping the girl company may drink a little secretly, without letting the girl see them, and they may eat a little taro also in the same way. After two days the girl may eat a little specially prepared taro, which her mother brings to her secretly, and may drink a very little water, enough to make her tongue cold.

[565] The girl and her two companions must stay inside the hut for five days and nights. If she is a commoner four will be enough. She must sit all the time doing nothing, and must not leave the hut at all except to relieve herself. When this is necessary she puts on a hood, and goes no farther than the back of the hut. One of the

881 children must accompany her, also wearing a hood. During this
time she must not handle fire. (This involves her abstinence from
[276] smoking, which is a very great hardship.)

After sleeping for the fifth night the prohibition on handling fire is over. She is given a drink, which she must drink when no one is
[272 looking. It consists of the milk of a green coco-nut mixed with the
824] leaves of certain plants (specimens of these were given to me, with
their native names, but have not been identified). She and her two
[302] companions have their heads painted red with *owan*, and their
foreheads outlined with white (*wiwi*).

All the women *kōma*, the conch-shell is sounded, and the slit-gong is beaten in this rhythm:

[533]

/// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. ///, &c.

The girl does not join in the *kōma*, she stays in the house. All the women call out: 'To-morrow we shall eat a big pig. It will be cut into pieces.' Each of them calls out which part of the pig she would like for herself: 'I want its head.' 'I want its neck.' 'I want its leg.' 'I want its hind quarters,' and so on.

881 Then word is sent to the neighbouring villages. For example,
574 for a girl living at Kurtatchi a woman will be sent to Ruri and one
to Tabut, telling the people there to collect taro to make ceremonial pudding. They prepare packages of ceremonial pudding and cook them, and bring them to the village. Every woman who can possibly manage it will accept this invitation.

881 Next day, before dawn, the women of the village in which the
girl lives go and cut down a banana palm which has a bunch of
824 nearly ripe bananas on it. (This is a special kind of banana called
pias a mon (*pias* = climb a tree, *mon* = woman). Its fruit may never be eaten by boys wearing the *upi*.) They cut down the tree close to the ground, with the fruit and leaves remaining on it. This must be done while it is still dark. They bring the tree back to the village, and lay it on the ground near the girl's hut.

As dawn is breaking, the banana palm is stuck in the ground in front of the girl's hut, at the *tagoan*. The women bring a quantity of certain young plants and saplings (the only two which I could identify were sugar-cane and canarium almond). These must not be cut, but pulled up by the roots, and are planted in front of the hut in two rows, making an avenue between the banana tree and the hut.

Then the men go into the bush and cut down wild areca-nut 881
palms and make planks which they bring to the village. They
make a long platform like a bridge, supported on poles stuck in the 417
ground, leading from the front verandah of the hut to the banana
palm, between the two rows of saplings.

One of the two girls who have been keeping the menstruating 881
girl company now comes out of the hut, walks along this bridge,
and climbs up the banana palm. She sits down on top of the bunch
of bananas. This girl is called *mani*, 'the opossum'. I could get no
explanation for the use of this term. The girl chosen must be too
young to menstruate, and is usually about seven or eight, judging
from the appearance of the children who were pointed out as being
of the right size to act as *mani*.

The girl for whom the ceremony is being performed now comes 881
out of the hut for the first time since the flow began. By this time
it will have finished. She wears round her waist a series of girdles 292
made of the outer bark of the banana palm, some scraped and dried 824
in the sun, with a pattern cut on them; other girdles are made of
a white cane, and others still of the same cane (rattan, I think) dyed
red with *riro* (*Morinda citrifolia*). She also wears a plaited and
twisted belt (*sosui*) of the inner skin of the bush banana, similar to
that sometimes seen at dances. There are five different kinds of
girdles altogether. From them, in front, is suspended a bunch of
leaves (*onon*), chosen either for their decorative appearance, or for
their aromatic properties. A long list of native names of leaves
suitable for this purpose was given to me. These must not be cut,
but must be pulled up by the roots. The roots are left attached,
and are bound round with lengths of ceremonial currency, both [436]
shell and teeth. The roots must be uppermost, coming up on to
the girl's chest; the leaves hang down in front of her, the fastening
being at about the level of the navel. She must wear no other 881
covering. Her hair is painted with the pattern called *waputan urits*,
i.e. a red stripe in the middle, going from forehead to back of neck, 302
a stripe of black on either side, then another stripe of red on the
outer side of the black stripes, these red ones reaching down to the
ears. Her temples and forehead are edged with white paint. Round [301]
her neck she wears a *piri*r (ornament made of clam shell with over-
lay of tortoise-shell filigree work, see Pl. 68).

She walks along the bridge and climbs up into the banana palm, 881
sitting down just below the bunch of fruit, on a small plank which

881 has been fixed there for the purpose. The 'opossum girl' is sitting above her on top of the bunch of fruit.

Then all the women bring the ceremonial pudding they have prepared, and plenty of cooked taro, drinking coco-nuts and dry coco-nuts, and special kinds of taro uncooked with the stalk still attached. These are painted with stripes of black and red. All the things are heaped up at the foot of the banana palm. Meanwhile, all the women *kōma*, shouting as loud as they can.

Then the 'opossum girl' breaks off one banana from the bunch and throws it at the women as they go round in the *kōma*. They are all glad, and shout. Then another woman climbs up the tree and breaks off a banana and throws it. Then all the women start throwing things at one another, [526] limes, canarium almonds, if they are in season, pawpaws, mangoes, areca-nuts, and so on. They play together because they are glad that the girl has begun to menstruate. She herself stays up in the tree and takes no part in the game. This goes on for some time.

When the throwing is finished, the girl puts on two hoods, one [292] plain, the other with a pattern worked on it with strips of fibre (these special hoods, called *tsububuwat*, are made on Buka and obtained by barter). All the women now gather as close as possible to the banana palm, and continue to *kōma* loudly. One of them cuts down the banana palm near the ground. All the women hold up their hands to catch the tree as it falls. They lower it gently to the ground with the two girls still sitting in it. The conch-shell is [533] blown, the slit-gong is beaten with the same rhythm as before, and all the women shout. Some of them catch hold of the girl and carry her into the hut. She must not touch the ground. Other women call out to the 'opossum girl' to hold tight to the bunch of bananas. The tree is laid on the ground with the 'opossum girl' still clinging to it. Its leaves are then pulled off and the 'opossum girl' is covered up with them.

881 831 Then the women all play at copulating with one another. One woman makes another woman lie on the ground, at the foot of the prostrate banana palm, she then lies on the top of her and pretends to have coitus. But they must not play at coitus with the girl for whom the ceremony is being held. She must stay inside the hut and take no part in the play. Some one seizes the 'opossum girl' and runs off with her into the hut; she is too small to play at coitus with the women. Then the women get hold of bits of ceremonial

pudding and pieces of pig, and rub them on to their genitals, and 881 then on one another's mouths, with the secretion from the vulva 831 adhering to them. The women are obliged to eat these pieces. If any one refuses she is held down, her mouth forced open, and the food pushed into it.

When the women have had enough of this sexual play, the 881 visiting women are all given quantities of food to take back with them. They then disperse to their own villages. The whole of this part of the ceremony, involving the banana palm, is performed [565] only for persons of rank.

The three children, i.e. the girl for whom the ceremony is being 881 performed, the one who acted as 'opossum girl', and her other companion, remain inside the hut for a few days more. The exact 252 period was not specified; my informants said it did not matter very 824 much. They may now eat taro which has been roasted in the embers or cooked in an oven, but not that which has been boiled in a pot. They may not eat the meat of a green coco-nut, but they may break open ripe ('dry') coco-nuts and cook them in the embers like taro, then scrape the meat off them; this they may eat. (In the ordinary way the meat of a coco-nut at this stage is not considered fit to eat.) If the girl who has been menstruating eats green coco- [841] nuts or taro that has been boiled in water, she will have another period in a short time, and will lose too much blood. The same prohibition applies to taro leaves, which these people are accustomed to boil and eat as we eat spinach. These are liable to have the same effect, being cooked in water, but the leaves may be made into a package tied up with covering leaves, and roasted in the embers; in this form, since they are cooked dry, she is permitted to eat them. But she is absolutely forbidden to eat pig, fish, or opossum, which amounts to the prohibition of all flesh foods.

When a few days have passed, the girl's mother prepares a 881 special pot of taro, called *pipiro*. One *roran* (six tubers) of each of 252 several different kinds of taro is taken and boiled in a pot with certain aromatic leaves. Taro thus prepared is esteemed a great delicacy. The men go fishing, and bring in certain kinds of fish. The names of fourteen kinds of fish were given to me in this connexion. They were all rather small fish, so far as I could ascertain. No reason could be elicited for choosing these particular kinds. They are brought into the village; the girl's mother wraps them up in the large leaves of the bush banana, which are much used in

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

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Kurtatchi

881 252 cooking, and cooks some of them in the pot along with the taro. The contents of the pot are eaten by the girl only. If the men have brought a great many fish, the girl's mother makes all that are over into packages for roasting in the embers. These are for the other villagers, both men and women.

881 884 The pot is boiled in the hut where the girl has been secluded—generally her mother's. The people who are looking after the cooking must neither drink nor eat, nor chew the betel-mixture, but they are allowed to smoke. All the other people of the village must stay in their huts, and must on no account go out, even to relieve themselves. They must not speak, and children must not cry. If any one were to speak the pot might break, and its contents be spilled, and this would be very bad for the girl, causing her always to have an excessive flow at her periods. Meanwhile, two lengths of bamboo are prepared, each cut just past the nodes so that the two ends are closed. When the contents of the pot are properly cooked, these bamboos are heated on the fire, then laid across stones, and two men pound on them with stones in their hands. They explode with a loud bang; this is the signal to all the people of the village that the cooking is done and that they may now talk again and can come outside and approach the hut.

The contents of the pot are turned out on to a *kōbū*. The girl who has been menstruating bends over it so that the steam comes up on to her abdomen. When it is cold she eats the food out of the *kōbū*. When it is all gone, the girl takes the *kōbū* with the water that is left in the bottom of it, and holds it out to another woman, who mixes red paint (*owan*) with this water, and rubs it over the girl's abdomen. This is to 'fasten her belly', so that she will not have another flow too soon. The paint is rubbed on to her abdomen inside the house; then she comes out and shows herself to all the people who have gathered round. They then disperse.

The girl may now eat fish, but is still forbidden pig and canarium almonds. After another interval, which may be several months, another pot of *pipiro* is prepared, with pig and canarium almonds taking the place of fish. The same ritual is gone through as before, and all taboos on food are now removed. *Pipiro* is prepared for a commoner as well as for a woman of rank.

This ceremony is rapidly falling into disuse, as it is discouraged by the missionaries, the climbing of the banana palm with the attendant sexual horse-play being considered undesirable. At

Ruri, the next village to Kurtatchi, there was a girl of rank for 881 whom this should have been done, but the proceedings were reduced to a short period of seclusion and the cooking of the *pipiro*. 797 It would have been performed for Nawi at Kurtatchi, a much more 177 conservative village than Ruri, had it not been that the village was engaged in preparations for the *watawutʃ*, this involving modification of the first menstruation rite, since it is strictly taboo to 'go up bananas' under these circumstances. The following account of what actually took place is transcribed from my diary.

FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS PERFORMED FOR NAWI

September 12, 1930. On my walk round the village this morning 159 I found all the women greatly excited, because it has just been discovered that Nawi has started her first menstrual flux. 881 This had been anticipated for several months, and the women had often told me that it was sure to happen soon. They had been very much looking forward to it, and are very disappointed that the banana-palm ceremony cannot be held because the time is approaching for the holding of the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

All the older women went into the bush and gathered quantities [824] of cordyline leaves, which they must wear tucked into cane girdles at their waists during the ceremony. Nawi remained in her mother's hut. Her friend Kiots, with whom she generally goes about, is staying in the hut with her. Kiots experienced her first period [565] some months ago, but the banana-palm ceremony was not held for her because she is a commoner. She is keeping Nawi company now out of friendship, not ceremonially. The two little girls who are her official companions are Talewu and Beawon. Talewu is the *mani*. Talewu is the daughter of Poa, Nawi's father, by another mother, who is sister to Nawi's mother (by the same father but a different mother). Nawi calls Talewu *kiar* (sib of the same sex). It follows that Talewu belongs to the same clan as Nawi, viz. Naboin. But Beawon, who is not related to Nawi (there is no relationship term used between them), belongs to the other clan, Nakarib. [183] This is contrary to the information given me previously by Pari and other women, who said that the two little companions of the girl must belong to the same clan as herself. It would thus seem that in this, as in many other particulars, the rules are not strictly adhered to.

All the people of the village, men and women, members of both

159 All the people of the village, men and women, members of both

784 clans, are fasting. Bwapip (one of the younger men) says he does
183 not intend to fast; he is going to eat taro and drink water. The women are very angry with him; they say that if he does it will bring some terrible disaster on the village. I think he is bluffing, and will not have the courage to break the taboo, or, if he does, it will be in secret.

159 I visited Nawi in her mother's hut. She was lying on the plank
881 which forms her bed, with a woman's hood across her body. Beside her were bunches of leaves, which covered her genitals. The three girls were sitting beside her. Various women came in
[292] at intervals and sat chatting for a while. All the women are wearing girdles of banana fibre with cordyline leaves tucked into them at the sides and in front.

September 13. A crowd of women are keeping Nawi company, and more are grouped on the women's verandah outside. The men are all lounging about the village, and no one is doing any work.
[292] Nawi spends most of her time dozing. When she has to leave the hut to relieve herself, she puts on a long hood, and both little girls, also wearing hoods, go with her. Ira and Poskea (two of the younger women) came and sat on my verandah, saying how hungry and thirsty they were. They must not eat or drink until to-morrow.

September 14. All the women of the village collected in or around the hut. Two men, Nobit and Wasĕ, both belonging to the Naboin clan but not related to Nawi, were inside the hut, and a number of other men, including most of the older men of the village, of both clans, were sitting or standing just outside, round the men's verandah. Three new *kōbū* had been prepared, and a bunch of roots and leaves made up beforehand (for description of this see p. 263). Nobit loosened the bundle and held it while Pasu, an old woman of the Naboin clan, sprinkled some red paint (*owan*) over it and into it. Then he held the bundle of leaves and roots over each of the three *kōbū* in turn, while Pasu poured the milk of a large number of coco-nuts through the bundle into two of them; the third was put underneath to catch the overflow. A length of bamboo was put into one of the *kōbū*, and all the women present drank some of the mixture in turns, drawing it up through the bamboo. Nawi was urged to drink freely, so were the two little girls who had been keeping her company. While we were all taking turns to drink, Pasu and Takok (Takok is Nawi's *tsubū*) lay at full length on the ground, and some of the women indulged in a little horse-play with them, jumping over them and pulling them about, 881 but there was nothing that could be called playing at sexual intercourse. 159 This part of the ceremony had to be modified on account of the approaching *watawutʃ*.

The second *kōbū* was put on the ledge just inside the door at the men's end of the hut, and all the men present drank from it, both the two who were inside the hut and those who remained outside at the *tagoan*. When all had drunk, it was filled up with more coco-nut milk, poured through the bundle as before, and the contents were then poured into half-coco-nut shells, with the meat still in them. These were sent to Pinari, who was not present. Coco-nuts were also filled from the *kōbū* out of which the women had drunk, and these were sent to a group of women with babies who were sitting at the women's end of the hut and on the women's verandah.

Nawi wore a hood with a pattern worked on it in fibre. All the 159 women still had cordyline leaves tucked into cane girdles, which 881 they wore over their loin-cloths. The leaves were allowed to hang down, either in front or at both sides. Nawi wore hers in front, 292 under her loin-cloth, which she had resumed; over it she had several girdles of red cane. I was also given cordyline leaves, and asked to wear them in my belt, with the earnest request that I should not throw them away afterwards. They said it would be all right for me to press the leaves and keep them in my box, which I did. Those worn by the other women were to be put up in the rafters of the hut, together with the *kōbū* used to contain the drinking mixture, and dried in the smoke which is constantly rising from the smouldering fire on the floor of the hut. [841] This hardening of the *kōbū* and cordyline leaves is to ensure that Nawi's flux will not occur again too quickly. When she is married, her mother will prepare some ceremonial pudding, of which all the women will partake, and the leaves and the *kōbū* will then be thrown into the sea.

Nawi tells me that her flow has finished. Since its onset was 145 announced on Friday morning, it has lasted two days and two 159 nights, or possibly three nights, if it began early in the night of Thursday–Friday.

When all the men and women present had drunk some of the 159 mixture out of the *kōbū*, Nawi was given a basket of roast taro cut into thin slices, each slice smeared thickly with *owan* on both sides, 881 and a little packet of taro leaves, cooked in the embers. She ate

159 one piece, and gave some to the two children, and some to Kiots.
The village is now free to eat what it pleases, but Nawi must still
881 eat sparingly. She may not yet come out of the hut.

All the proceedings were over quite early in the morning, and every one dispersed as usual; there was no lounging about the place as there was yesterday. In the evening there was a *kōma* of the usual kind, with slit-gong and *mabu* and *piu*. The women of Nawi's clan were not allowed to take part in it, but those of the other clan did so.

September 15. Nawi and the two little girls still confined to the hut. Village at work as usual. No special features, and no *kōma* at night.

September 16. Nothing happened till shortly before dusk, when
[831] some of the women came to fetch me to go to Nawi's hut. All the women of the village gathered there, and engaged in romping and horse-play, the sexual nature of which was somewhat more veiled than in the account previously given, consisting chiefly of some women lying flat on the ground and others jumping on them. Then all present, including myself, drank, from a bamboo, a mixture out of a receptacle that had been set up on a stand inside the hut. (The ingredients of this I afterwards obtained from its maker, they will be discussed later.) No men were present at this part of the proceedings. All the women still wore their cordyline leaves. After every one had drunk, there was more romping, during which pieces of pig and taro were thrown about. This went on for some time. Then there was an interval during which every one sat around and talked.

159 When it was quite dark the men began blowing the pipes, both
881 *mabu* and *piu* (see pp. 411–12). The women, all wearing their
hoods, collected in the central space of the village, and called to me
535 to join them. We walked backwards and forwards towards and away from the men who were playing, then walked all round them, then along the back of the line of huts (*babots*), to Nawi's mother's hut. Nawi came out. A coco-nut shell filled with water was handed round. Some of the women drank, some held it to their mouths without swallowing any. Then we all stood in a group, close together, facing east, and yelled 'Ba-a-a-a-h'. The whole group turned round to face west, and yelled again. Then all, including Nawi, went back to the central space where the men were still playing, and danced with a peculiar step, a hop coming down on

both feet, hissing the while, in a series of jerks. (This is different 159
from the ordinary dance steps as performed by the women at other 881
times, and I did not see it done on any other occasion.) Some
women formed lines and danced together, some danced alone. 535
Nawi danced also. This went on for a long time.

September 17. Nawi can now walk about the village, but she 159
must not go to the taro garden nor do any work.

This state of things continued till 881

September 20. On this day Nawi went for the first time to fetch water, but she must not yet go to the taro garden.

On September 21 I was unfortunately obliged to leave the village for a few days. When I returned, Nawi was working as usual, but neither she nor any one else could tell me which day she first went to the taro garden. It was definitely more than ten days from the time of the first appearance of the flux.

As I went on my way I met a man from Baniu, who said he had 159
come to fetch Nawi and take her to Tendru, a village farther along 304
the coast, where there was to be a cicatrization ceremony, at which she would be 'cut', together with three other girls. I was invited to attend, but when I went to the village on the appointed day I found that Nawi had run away into the bush and refused to go, and her parents said they would not insist on her undergoing the operation. One of the other girls, from another village, had also run away, and a third was ill. Since only one candidate remained, the ceremony did not take place.

DETAILS OF MIXTURE USED IN NAWI'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

The following description of the preparation of roots and leaves 881
used for the drink which was shared on the third day of the pro- 272
ceedings was given me subsequently, by the men who made it.
These were three of the younger men of the village, Wasĕ, Tchub, 824
and Bwapip; they did it because Tchub knew the method of making it, having been taught by his mother and father (his father has been dead for some time, his mother is alive and resides in the village, but she did not superintend the preparation of the mixture). None of the men is related to Nawi, but all belong to the same clan. I 881
think, however, that this is not essential.

A stand must be made from the branches of a tree called *awitʃ*. 272
This is done by setting up four straight branches about 3 feet in 824
417

881 height, pushing them firmly into the ground (the floor of the hut)
272 to make the corners of a square. Cross-pieces are then tied on to
824 the four corner sticks for the sides of the square, and about a foot
417 from the top other pieces are fastened to these for the bottom.
This stand, when finished, is called *taraki*. It is lined with the leaves of the special kind of banana palm which is used in the full ceremony. All the women present must drink the special mixture from the *taraki* direct, drawing it up through a length of bamboo, but some of it is put into a *kōbū* and set aside for the men.

881 The mixture put into the *taraki* is called *anam*. It is made as
272 follows: Make a bundle containing portions of the root of a certain
824 tree, and scrapings from the bark of a number of others, whose
native names were given to me; I cannot give their botanical names, but I know that they are all hard-timbered trees, and are chosen for the purpose of 'making the girl's belly strong', so that she will not menstruate again too soon. Add to these the scraped outer skin of the stem of a very tough bush creeper. Then take the young leaves of a number of aromatic plants, to make the mixture smell nice. Only the top of the plants, with fresh young leaves, must be used. Take also a piece of sugar-cane broken from the middle of the stalk. Pound up all the leaves to pulp by means of stones. Take a leaf of *tshō* (a large smooth-leaved plant constantly used for wrapping up packages of food, both for carrying and for cooking purposes), and lay the pounded pulp on it, then take the rest of the ingredients previously mentioned, and lay them on top of the pulp. Sprinkle a quantity of the red powder called *owan* over the whole.

This mixture is prepared beforehand. At the time of the ceremony, the bundle is opened a little, and a hole is made in the bottom of it. One man holds it over the *taraki*, and then over the *kōbū* which the men will drink out of, while another pours coconut milk through the package into these receptacles. The coco-nuts must be young, with the meat still soft (*mayur*). Then some which have a little firmer meat (*wiss*) must be cut; their milk is also poured through the package. Then comes the milk of coco-nuts which are nearly ripe (*wakamitshoma*), which is not considered palatable in the ordinary way. Finally the meat of a ripe (dry) coco-nut (*makas*) is scraped and squeezed through a piece of coco-nut fibre; the expressed oil is added to the mixture. One man holds the package, one holds the piece of fibre, another brings and manipulates the coco-nuts. By thus pouring the milk of coco-nuts through

the mixture, the good properties of the leaves and roots, &c., are 881
supposed to be carried into the liquid which runs into the *taraki*
and the *kōbū*. This liquid is of a red colour, owing to the *owan* 272
(impure iron oxide) which was plentifully sprinkled over the package 824
before the coco-nut milk was poured through. It tastes bitter, probably because of the *owan*, since the liquid, being cold, could hardly act as an infusing agent during the short time it is in contact with the leaves and roots in the package, so as to acquire any properties from them.

When sufficient liquid has been poured through, the package is 881
fastened up again and placed in the rafters of the hut over the fire.
Two immature coco-nuts (*kukuts*) are put beside it. It must dry 272
well in the smoke. This is another precaution to 'harden the girl's 841
belly' to prevent her from menstruating again too quickly. When 842
the girl sleeps with her husband for the first time, her mother takes down the package and the coco-nuts, and slashes the two immature coco-nuts open; this represents the 'opening of the girl' in order that she may become pregnant. The package and the coco-nuts are then thrown away into the sea by the mother, who must take care that the current carries them away immediately. This removes their restraining influence over the girl's flow of blood, so that she will have plenty to make a child. If for any reason the girl's mother considers that it is not desirable for her daughter to have a child soon, the package and the coco-nuts are left in the rafters until such time as pregnancy is desired.

The liquid which has been poured through the package into the 881
taraki and the *kōbū* must be tasted by all present. The women
drink from the *taraki* and the men from the *kōbū*. When every one 272
has had a taste the rest of the liquid is put by in coco-nuts for those
who are not present. A woman will save some for her husband,
and a man for his wife and children. Little girls who are *tsunaun* [565]
cannot drink; they must taste it for the first time when the ceremony is performed on their behalf. Little girls who are commoners get their share with the other people; none will be prepared for them when they begin to menstruate. The coco-nuts in which the mixture is carried to other huts must be carefully kept in the rafters of those huts, and thrown into the sea at the same time as the
package of leaves and roots. The belts of coloured cane worn by 881
the girl during the period are rolled up and encased in a covering 292
of fibre, and placed with the other things in the rafters of her

●881 mother's hut. Nawi's mother allowed me to keep one of them
292 (see Pl. 75).

FINAL PART OF CEREMONY FOR MUBEN

881 [582] It sometimes happens that a girl is married, and actually sleeps with her husband, before the onset of her first menstrual period. This was the case with Muben, wife of Kakari, whose marriage took place just prior to my period of residence. Her first flux occurred shortly afterwards. As soon as her mother heard of it, she sent for Muben to return to her own village of Baniu for the [574] banana-palm ceremony. Unfortunately, this was over before I went to Kurtatchi. But during the first few days of my stay, several of the women of Kurtatchi went to Baniu to bring her back after the conclusion of the ceremony, and on this trip I accompanied them. The final dance took place on the evening of our arrival. When we reached the village, all the men were busy making ceremonial pudding for us. [292] The bride was dressed in a belt of cane, three white strands and three red ones, from which a bunch of leaves depended in front. She wore no loin-cloth. Another girl, who looked slightly younger, was similarly attired. She was undergoing the ceremony for her first menstruation with Muben, who was of the same clan, but in her case it was not accompanied by marriage.

I was invited to sit on the women's verandah of the hut belonging to the bride's mother. For a long time nothing happened. We passed the time by munching taro and playing at cat's cradles. Long after dark, the sound of Pan-pipes and *mabu* was heard on the other side of the house. Nobody moved. They told me that the men and boys had it all to themselves at first, and that they would come and fetch us afterwards.

881 292 Presently the two girls concerned went into the hut and were made ready by their mothers, helped by their mothers' sisters. When they came out, a little procession was formed, the men and boys with their instruments in front, the two girls following, and then all the rest of the women and children. The two girls had long bunches of leaves stuck into their cane girdles, they wore the usual woman's hood on their heads, but into the tops of the hoods there were stuck white feathers from the tail of the hornbill. Round their waists was a cord from which hung a rattle made of shell. [302] A long streak of white outlined each temple and the forehead.

The group of men and boys formed itself into the usual wheel 881 formation and continued to play on the pipes. The little procession of women walked round them twice. After this it broke up; the two girls went back to the hut and took off their hoods, sticking the hornbill feathers into their hair. Then all the women joined [535] in the dance in the usual way, in twos and threes, backwards and forwards with a kind of balancing movement, varied by a hop 'on the spot'. This went on for some time, but not all night.

The next day the two girls appeared still dressed in their cane [292 girdles, which were now, however, worn on the top of loin-cloths. 302] Their hair was still covered with black paint, but they had washed off the white outlines from forehead and temple. I made a tentative suggestion that I should like to photograph them as they had appeared at the ceremony the night before, but this was met with a polite but firm refusal from the older people. 'That is finished.' After the usual delays, we started on our journey back to Kurtatchi, taking Muben with us. All the Kurtatchi women were heavily [574] loaded with taro and packets of ceremonial pudding. Quite a crowd of the Baniu people accompanied us round the beach to the foot of the cliff, where we sat on the sand for a little while before starting up it. As we went up the cliff path Muben's mother and mother's sister set up a wail. It was quite clearly a piece of ritual, but it seemed to me that there was real grief there as well, and Muben certainly had tears in her eyes when I walked beside her at the top of the cliff. She was obviously making a great effort to control them sufficiently to answer the teasing remarks which one of the men would persist in addressing to her.

CHANGE OF NAME AFTER MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

It is customary that after she has experienced her first menstruation, a girl should be given another name; the former one is then 551 supposed to be taboo. Muben was given the name of Buin, but I never heard her called by it, every one continuing to use the name by which she had been known before. The custom seems not to be considered of great importance, and I never heard of any other name being given to Nawi, the old one being used as before.

VARIATIONS

As in the boys' ceremony, the time involved seems to have been 881 curtailed considerably of late. In the account given by the women,

● 881 and in the ceremony as I saw it, the time during which the girl remained in her mother's hut was only five days. But in discussion, informants told me that she used to remain in her mother's hut for one month after the first discovery of the flux. At Saposa, also, the longer interval was given.

881 At Saposa there is a further elaboration. A wooden figure, life-
184 size or larger, is carved out of soft wood, to represent a girl orna-
532 mented as she would be for this ceremony, with her hair dressed
and painted, and a tortoise-shell filigree ornament round her neck.
585 The pattern of the cicatrization on her body is also indicated. This
figure is kept in her mother's hut during the period of her seclusion.
It appears also at her wedding. One such figure, which I saw
[768] during a brief visit to Saposa, had been made for a girl who had
died; it was to be burnt after a suitable interval with other of her
belongings (Pl. 32).

WOMEN'S VIEWS ON MENSTRUATION

841 The reason given by the natives for holding the ceremony above described is one which I have not seen put forward elsewhere, namely, to ensure that the girl does not menstruate too frequently or too freely. All the details of the ritual appeared to be directed towards this end, e.g. avoidance of drinking any liquid or eating taro boiled in water during the period of the flux, the use of hard-timbered trees in the preparation of the appropriate mixture to be drunk by all, including the girl herself, at one stage of the proceedings, and the preservation in the rafters of the hut of the package containing the roots and leaves from which this mixture is prepared, to be hardened by the smoke, and thrown away when a child is desired. In all discussions arising out of the ceremony, and from several different informants, this was the only explanation that was forthcoming, and I see no reason to doubt its validity.

146 The usual duration of the menstrual period *irir* (*ira* = blood)
841 among these women would appear to be three days per month.
No one reported a semi-monthly period. A few told me that they had it for one or two days only. One case of five days was reported indirectly; I was also told that the woman in question was not in the habit of taking any of the medicines for controlling the flux which appear to be in universal use. Since data of this sort cannot be checked by personal observation, and in view of the vagueness of all these people in regard to any question of time, I feel no great

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935 ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

PLATE 32

[Facing p. 268]

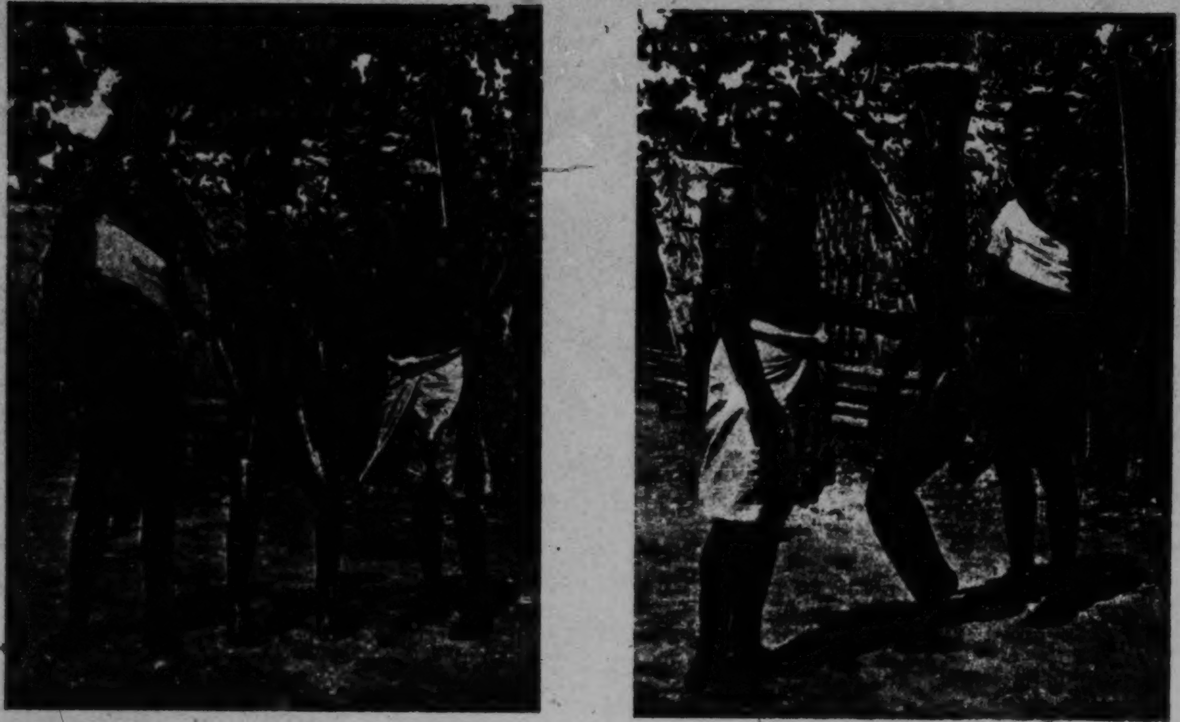

FIGURE USED AT GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

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[727] 6. To announce the killing of a prisoner of war (to be eaten):

/ // /..// /..// /..//..// /////..//

[484] 7. To collect a party which is to go on a journey at night:

/ ...... //// ...... //// ...... ////

[881] 8. To announce that one of the *upi* ceremonies is to be held:

/// ...../// ...../// ...../// .....///

9. At a certain stage in the girl's puberty ceremony:

/// .. /// .. /// .. /// .. /// ..

10. If a man is angry about something, e.g. if another man 'steals' his wife:

/ .... /........ / // .... /

11. To indicate the number of pigs killed for a feast, or the number of strings of ceremonial currency which changed hands at some special occasion, e.g. at marriage, or on account of the building of a new *tobar*. All such quantities are shown by giving one long slow beat for each pig, or string of currency, &c., involved in the transaction.

Other occasions on which the *garamuts* is beaten are as follows:

[476] To call the villagers together for some piece of communal labour, such as cleaning up the coco-nut groves or working on the road.

To announce the completion of a special piece of work, such as the building of a *tobar*.

[681] To announce a punishment by shooting, when a man has committed an offence for which he is sentenced to stand on the beach to be shot at by the other people.

[304] At a certain stage in the process of cicatrization.

[881] At various stages in the preparations for the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

On one occasion a man had gone into the bush with his dogs to hunt pig. In the evening the dogs returned without him. The *garamuts* was beaten with long slow beats to give him his direction, in case he was lost in the bush.

It is sometimes sounded for no other apparent reason than that the village is happy because there is a plentiful supply of food. One day it was thus beaten because every one had had a feast of breadfruit.

I have counted as many as nine in a row, each with an arm round 535
the waist of the woman on either side of her. They may also dance
singly, and some women took great pride in so doing. One very
tall woman frequently danced singly, with her baby in her arms.
There are three movements, varied at the pleasure of the dancer:
magat (*tʃok-tʃok* P.) advancing and retreating to and from the
circle of men, with a balancing step first on one foot and then on
the other; *tsuir* (*gumsu* P.) standing on one spot and rocking up and
down with bent knees in a sort of 'jigging' movement, and *turap*
(*pi* P.) which is a series of hops on the left foot only, with the right
foot raised, its toe pointing to the ground. The general word for
the women's dance is *sani* (*sŏ'ol* P.).

The instruments are played for a period of a couple of minutes 533
or so, the music then ceasing abruptly, with a very loud single note 535
on the slit-gong, if it is being used. When it stops the women
cease dancing, but the men and boys continue their round, while
everybody sings variations on five notes, first up, then down,
ending on a high last note which is drawn out as long as the breath
holds, those who keep on longest being greeted with applause from
the others, the whole usually ending in a burst of laughter. The
women join in this vocal performance, which is called *waki* (*haki*
P.). After another couple of minutes or so the slit-gong beats
again, and the women continue their steps. The whole dance consists
of nothing else but endless repetitions of these two alternatives,
sometimes continued throughout the night till after dawn
has broken. People join in it for a time, then go away and rest, or
eat, and return when the spirit moves them, it does not matter, so
long as some one is there to keep the thing going incessantly.

Although a *kōma* may be held for no particular reason except 535
that the people want one, there are certain times at which it is
proper to hold them, and is considered a ceremonial duty to join
in them. During the weeks of preparation for the *watawutʃ* [881]
ceremony the boys wearing the *upi* were expected to dance
frequently, and were urged on by the elders when they showed
signs of flagging interest (see Pl. 30*a*). The men danced also, but [562]
the women took no part in these particular affairs. The women
have also certain occasions on which they dance by themselves,
though they have a man to beat the slit-gong for them. 535
One such occasion is a ceremony performed for a child on the 852
occasion of his first being taken to the taro garden sitting on his

The 'unofficial' marking consists of cuts made with a shell or a 304
piece of glass, some more or less random as to their direction, some
in sets of three, when they are supposed to represent the trail of the
hermit crab (*sisir a kobar*). They are made on the arms or chest
(see Pl. 11). Or a weal in the shape of a hollow circle may be made
on the chest by pressing the hot bowl of a pipe against the skin;
this is called *wawa'ets*. A small, solid, round weal, frequently seen
in rows down the back of the arm, is made by pressing the cut end [824]
of the stem of a leaf of the tree called *lavebe* on the skin. A white
milky sap is exuded which after a day or two causes an eruption
not unlike that consequent upon vaccination which leaves a permanent
weal, but it does not 'take' on some people. To mark
themselves in this way is a favourite amusement with young girls.
Scars are also made by pressing the stalk of a coco-nut, which has
been heated in the fire, on to the surface of the skin. There is no
ceremonial attached to these forms of marking.

The formal cicatrization is a much more elaborate affair. A man
is usually scarred on chest and shoulders and the upper portion of
the back, a woman all over her chest and abdomen, and frequently
also on the thigh, not quite to the knee. Some people have the face
scarred; in this case the body is not done (Pl. 69*a*). Certain patterns [554]
are signs of rank, others may be used by any one. The amount of
cutting done depends entirely on the wish of the parents. It is not
hereditary, but a father will often have his son cut with the same
pattern as he has himself. Not every native is thus marked. Some
account for their untouched skins by saying that they ran away at
the time the ceremony was to be held, in which case it is not, as [177]
a rule, forced upon them later. It is gradually falling into disuse,
being severely discouraged by the missionaries.

I did not see the operation performed. Nawi, the girl whose 304
first menstruation ceremony is described in Chapter VIII, was 852
ready for marking, but she was to go to the village of Baniu, where
she had relatives, for the ceremony, as soon as there was enough
taro for the necessary food-distribution accompanying it. The [881]
ceremony could not be performed at Kurtatchi because the *watawatʃ*
had not been performed for the boys; pending this the cutting
ceremony was taboo. If it were done, the girl would die,
and her relatives would be very angry and 'make poison' to
kill the people who had committed this breach of rule. The mere
possibility was referred to with horror, and appeared to amount to

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935

ON6 Buka ON6

Kurtatchi

PLATE 75

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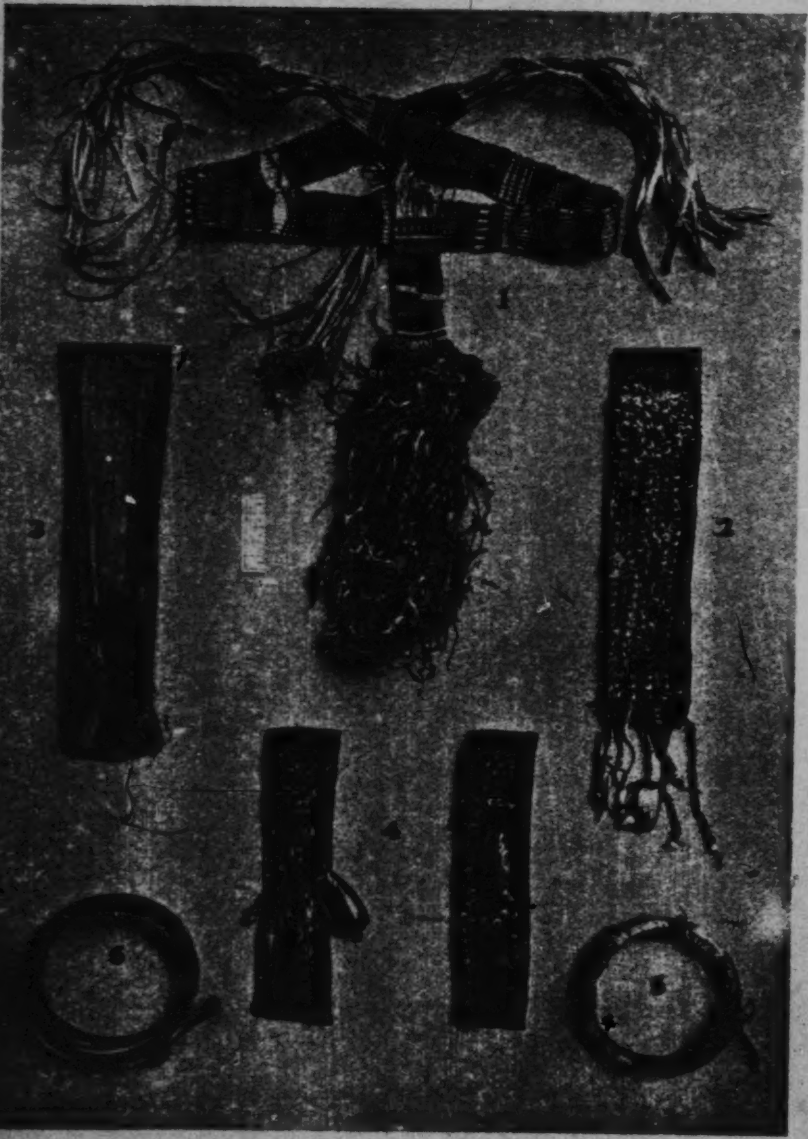

CEREMONIAL WEAR

1. Mourning belt. 2, 4. Front of widow's belt. 3. Cover for storing these. 5, 6. Cane belts for girl at puberty ceremony (rolled up for storing).

[facing p. 498]

539 825 the areca palm. The spirit was in the form of a snake. One man said to him: "Here, look, come down." The man looked, he started to come down, he saw the snake coming up behind him. The snake had two heads. The man was frightened. "How am I to come down? I think this thing will kill me." He thought it was just one snake that was coming up behind him, he did not know there were a lot of snakes at the root of the tree. He said: "I think I shall jump. Where is there a good place for me to jump down?" He looked about to find a clear place. The spirit-snake had long hair, just like a boy with an *upi*.* The man jumped down in the midst of all the snakes. All the snakes went inside the man. The man died.

All the men waited a long time for the man to come to the village, his wife, his father, his mother, his brother. They said: "He went to get areca nut, where has he stuck?" They all made torches (of dry coconut palm leaves) because it was quite dark. They left off sleeping, they went to look for him in the bush. They looked and looked, no man. They came back, they slept. Dawn came. They went back to look for him by daylight. They did not stop to eat. They found him, all the snakes were still inside him. His skin was full of them. Then they all ran away.

They went and talked to a man who was kin to this spirit. They got some *imun* (ceremonial currency consisting of flying-fox or porpoise teeth strung on native string). They gave it to this man who was kin to the spirit. They all went. The snake-man talked to all the snakes: "Why are you doing harm to your brother here?" He deceived the spirit-snakes, the man was not really their brother, he was another kind of man. "You fellows clear out." Then all the snakes went away from the man. The man's father asked the man who was kin to the spirit: "Will he be all

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[881] * The boys wearing the *upi*, or hat showing that they have not completed their puberty ceremonies, are not allowed to cut their hair, which grows very long, and is worn pushed up inside the hat.

CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE NATIVES OF BUKA

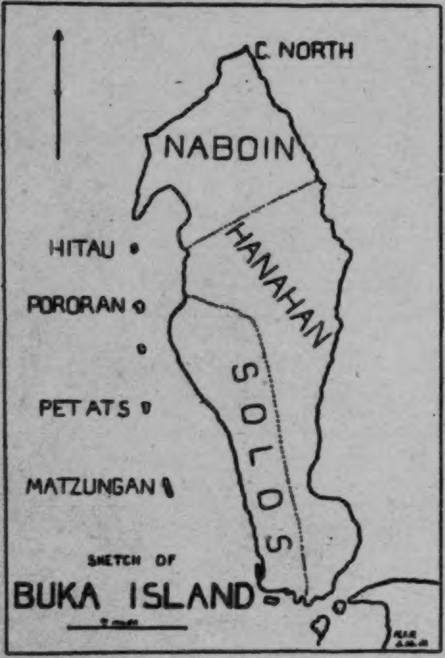
By GORDON THOMAS

131 BUKA is a small island, thirty miles long and ten miles wide, lying north of Bougainville and is the most northerly isle of the Solomons, though politically it is included in the Mandated Territory of New Guinea.

773 823 According to Buka legend the island was created when a god and goddess arrived from out of the south (Bougainville) and, travelling in a *mon* (canoe) to the northward, the island of Buka arose in the wake of the *mon*. At various intervals the god threw away the husks of betel-nut which he was chewing and these, in turn, became the small islands off the west coast of Buka. While the god steered the coast line was straight; later when the goddess piloted the craft the course was crooked and hence the large harbour at the north-west end of the island. Upbraiding the goddess, the god resumed the steering and eventually arrived back at the starting point, leaving behind a straight coast line.

196 The word in the Buka language to designate a white man is *tolala* and had its origin when the first sailing ship was sighted by a Buka man standing on the beach. The huge spread of canvas appearing on the horizon seemed to the astonished native nothing more than an island approaching. Excitedly he called out: "*A tol alana mayen!* (An island is coming here!)" When it was found that white men were aboard they received the name formed by the first part of the native's cry.

● 881 Like most tribes of Melanesia their initiation ceremonies for youths to enter manhood are of paramount importance, and are still maintained with great secrecy, though missionary and government influence has done much to eliminate many of the more savage rites. [776] Weeks before the ceremony the great spirit, Ndook, can be heard calling in the bush, warning the community of its advent so as to prepare pigs for his feasting. The women—particularly the mothers and relations of youths ready for initiation—show signs of 881 great agitation; and owners of pigs commence wondering whether they will be called upon to supply one or two porkers from their precious herd. The ceremony is conducted by the head-men of a community, and it is these men who disappear into the bush and [534]



[131]

create the cries of Ndook by medium of the bull-roarer and another instrument consisting of a half coconut shell with a small portion of a coconut leaf stretched across the opening. This, used in a manner similar to that in which children play on a comb and paper, creates a most eerie sound. Those men whom the head-men have decided should supply pigs are warned of this by a huge stick (used for carrying trussed pigs) being mysteriously thrust through [688] the doors of their houses at night. Refusal to obey such an edict was, and sometimes still is, punishable by death.

202 9. General dancing and singing (*guma*).

10. Killing of a captive (man) for food (*kura kura*).

11. Theft (*kope-kope*) : — — — — — — — — — — ..

12. To ripen the *wungal* (nut). One is placed in the fire and is followed by : .. .. —

13. To drive away sickness. All men armed with coconut leaves, sticks and spears proceed to the village boundary while the women remain in the houses and each *tui* in the village signals in turn : .... —

Counting is done by repeating the signal — . — . — (which is shown in the "purchase of a wife" signal to the extent of nine, representing the fathoms of native money paid). In counting food such as taro, coconuts, etc., when numbers exceed ten then the signal is abbreviated to — . — for each item. All counting is done by the one code. When a feast is about to be held natives from neighbouring villages are able to ascertain the number of pigs that have been killed for the feast, and also how far the preparations have progressed in order to time their arrival at the scene of feasting at an opportune moment.

News of importance, *e.g.*, the arrival of a government official, is relayed from village to village. In the Solos district the natives also detail the number of police-boys, carriers and boxes in the party.

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177 In recent years as a result of the influence of the white man, the younger generation who are losing many of the old tribal customs, are inclined to improvise new beats for the dance accompaniments based on the staccato noise of a schooner's auxiliary engine exhaust. This, unfortunately, is but one of the many innovations which are being introduced through white influence, and, in the next decade or so, many of the old-time customs will have disappeared entirely.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE INITIATION CEREMONY OF PORORAN

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177 The Ndook ceremony for the initiation of youths on Pororan at the present time is similar, in many respects, to that which was performed on full-grown men in the earlier days, though previously greater secrecy was maintained and admission was not granted to every man, but reserved as a mark of merit or honour amongst the

fighting-men. This change is but another proof of the decadence 881
of old-time customs in Buka. [177]

Initiates of today range from nine to fifteen years of age. They undergo no particular preparation other than strict instructions to do as they are told by the older men. Initiates are called *tseezen*, those already initiated are termed *putz-putzi*, and the chiefs, masters and headmen are known as *muri-na-lium*.

When a meeting of *muri-na-lium* decides to hold a Ndook ceremony (such decision being governed by the number of candidates available) word is sent to all *putz-putzi* one or two months prior to the fixed date. A general meeting is held and ways and means decided upon for obtaining taro; the making of *makot* (scraped taro and coconut oil); the guests to be invited; those *muri-na-lium* who will exhibit totem figures, and the number of *bahuan* figures that will be made. The supplying of pigs is left to one or two of the older chiefs who secretly despatch a third man to the houses of owners of good fat pigs. This man stealthily thrusts a thick stick, [202]
used for carrying trussed pigs, through the doors of the pig-owners. This is a direct sign from Ndook that the owner must provide a pig [688]
for the spirit. Failure to do so would entail death. Such penalties have been enforced even of late years.

The totem figures are called *malai*, and are representative of 778
either the *kekiliau* (bush fowl) or *naboin* (sea hawk) totems, which 532
are the only two existing in Buka. The figures, carved from soft timber, take the form of a huge bird gaudily painted with native [386]
pigments, stencil ink purloined from some neighbouring plantation, or washing blue. They represent the spirit of a deceased chief or headman belonging to the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting the *malai*. Usually four or five *malai* appear at a ceremony from one village.

The *bahuan*, or secondary spirits (considering Ndook as being 776
of the first order), consist of wooden images seven to eight feet 778
high carved also from soft wood (see Plate II, A). They are attached 532
at the base to long sticks which enable them to be lifted by the *putz-putzi*, who are covered with leaves or bushes. The *bahuan* also represent deceased chiefs of the same totem as the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting them. Keen rivalry is evinced in making these carvings. Sometimes the arms, mouth, tongue, penis or hands are manipulated

776 778 532 by means of a string. The *bahuan* shown in Plate II, B, was acclaimed a work of art by the spectators. It consisted of a framework of rattan covered with black calico, beneath which a *muri-na-lium* danced and gyrated.

● 881 688 Ceremonies are held in a special taboo area upon which no woman is permitted at any time to tread. Any matters connected with Ndook are kept strictly secret from the women (*be-hay*, as Ndook has named them). If one of them trespasses on this ground, catches sight of a carving to be used in a ceremony, or acquires any knowledge of the Ndook, she is put to death even today.

881 776 A week to ten days prior to the date of the ceremony *putz-putzi* are detailed to wander about the taboo ground operating the *liahan* and *rago*. The former is a bull-roarer which is looked upon as being the voice of the chief spirit or god. (The word *liahan* seems to signify god rather than a spirit, inasmuch as Liahan is the omnipotent creator of everything. He is invisible, and no attempt has been made to create his likeness in an image as has been done to spirits.) [534] The *rago* is an oscillatory-ribbon-reed instrument[3] consisting of a portion of a coconut leaf tied between two thin strips of stick and fastened into half a coconut shell. A shrill piercing note is given out when the instrument is blown upon. The *rago* represents the cry of Ndook's wife. These cries are continued throughout the days and nights prior to the ceremony and increase in volume and frequency as the appointed day approaches. Along certain highways the travels of Ndook are marked by bushes being trampled down and small trees uprooted.

881 Guests from neighbouring islands arrive quietly during the night prior to the ceremony and land near the ceremonial ground, keeping hidden from any women and *tseezen*.

When all preparations have been made, *bahuan* and *malai* completed, beds for food erected, and the various *putz-putzi* detailed to their tasks of operating the *bahuan*, carrying *malai* or merely to act as members of the attacking party, the *tseezen* are called from their respective houses by six or seven *muri-na-lium*. They emerge [386] half-fearfully with painted faces and hair oiled and smeared with

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[3] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Ed., page 303.

red oxide paint and struggle to escape the retaining holds of their 881
mothers. The *muri-na-lium* wildly brandish spears and axes to [356]
frighten the women.

All *tseezen* are then paraded in a circle as a farewell to their
mothers and female relatives. The women fling themselves down
upon the ground, crying and moaning and calling on their sons to
remain with them rather than brave the dangers of Ndook. They [158]
work themselves into a paroxysm of fear and reach a stage bordering
hysteria. (I have noted occasions when several women in throwing [834]
themselves upon the ground have become divested of their loincloths and, quite oblivious of the fact, have rolled about naked.
At the present time a Pororan woman would ordinarily never do
this. As the *tseezen* march around accompanied by the *muri-na-lium*
the latter keep the women at a distance with the aid of their weapons.
After half-an-hour or so the *tseezen* are led away to the ceremonial
ground, followed as far as the boundary of the village by a wailing
hysterical crowd of female relatives. When they arrive at the
ground they are ranged in a line, together with their guards, who
hold each one by the arm to prevent his escape.

From every direction there then arises the cry of the *liahan*
and the squawking piercing notes of the *rago*. From the direction
whence the *bahuan* and the *malai* will come then rise the shouts
of the *muri-na-lium* and the *putz-putzi* as they slowly advance
through the bush. As they emerge, covered in bush leaves or thin
strips of coconut fronds (see Plate II, B), and carrying the images
a small number of the *muri-na-lium* rush toward them and engage
in a mock fight, their purpose being to make a pretence of defending
the *tseezen* from the ravages of Ndook. Sometimes an attacker will
rough-handle a *tseezen* for a few moments, but seldom is any bodily
harm done in these conflicts. The *bahuan* and the *malai* are then
placed in the centre of the clearing and are surrounded by the
putz-putzi. Here they remain for a short space of time and are
then taken away to the bush with much shouting, accompanied
by the roarings of the *liahan* and cries of the *rago*. The *muri-na-lium*
then explain to the newly-initiated youths the absolute necessity
for strict secrecy to be maintained towards all *tseezen* and women
in respect of what they have seen. The penalty following any [688]
breach is death.

881 breach is death. The chief now gives each initiate a new name,
[553] which must never be changed or dropped. The names chosen are
those of deceased *putu-putui*, who thus continue, in name, to be present at such ceremonies. This custom is for the pleasure of Ndook as well as for the spirits of the departed.

While this is in progress one or more *muri-na-lium* visit the village where the women are still wailing and relate how So-and-so has been dissected by Ndook: his legs are in one island, his head in another, and his arms in still another. Occasionally one of the men smears his body with pig's blood and, standing before several of the women, relates how he was holding his child when Ndook killed him in his arms. Similar anecdotes are related by the newly initiated when they return to their mothers. The explanation for their safe return is that after Ndook had appeased his appetite with pig and taro he relented and restored them to their mothers.

Food is then divided, and as each section or village receives its portion, the men, placing the baskets on their heads, dance in the centre of the ground. They then retire to consume the food, which is known as *goagon* (sacred food). The women are not told that the men eat the food, which is ostensibly supplied for the consumption of Ndook, who if not well fed will wreak his vengeance upon the initiates. All traces of food are removed from the person and hands and faces washed before the men return to the village. They usually pretend to be hungry, and ask at once for something to eat.

842 The natives of Pororan believe that if a married man has sexual
845 intercourse with his wife on the same night that he returns from a
ceremony then she will bear twins. If a pregnant woman crosses the path made by Ndook in his travels the child when born will be deformed.

177 The inclusion of the wooden carvings in the Pororan Ndook
778 ceremony is only of very recent origin, dating from 1928. They are
881 copies of the images used in the Sailou district, north Bougainville,
[532] where initiation ceremonies form a far more important part of the
ceremonial life than on Buka. These images were first imported
[439] into Malasang district, south Buka, in about 1920, being purchased
with native money. From here they found their way to Hanahain.
Prior to this date there were no images, and the ceremony consisted

177 chiefly of lewd dancing and feasting. Boys were often initiated
778 when little more than babies. They were snatched from their
● 881 mothers' arms and taken to the bush. Coconut water was poured over them and their skins covered with broken pieces of leaf and grass. On being returned to their mothers it was explained that the children had been eaten by Ndook, passed through his stomach and evacuated. The slime and grass gave proof to this story.

881 Though great importance is attached to this ceremony now, I am of the opinion that the clandestine feasting and the desire to exhibit better images than other districts are of greater import to the *muri-na-lium* than the actual initiation ceremony. The prominence which is given to the *bahuan* and *malai* images seems to point to a form of spirit cult which is of but recent introduction. The time devoted to the *tseezen* is negligible in comparison with the labour expended upon the carvings, the preparation of food and the various deceptions practised upon the women.

788 The legend regarding the discovery of the *liahan* seems to point to the fact that the original idea of the Ndook ceremony was to enable the men to foregather secretly in the bush and there gorge themselves with food and give vent to lewd dances without the encumbrance or interference of the women.

773 The *liahan* or bull-roarer according to Pororan legend was
534 discovered by a woman while she was cutting firewood in the bush. A piece of the wood hurtled through the air and made a mysterious noise. Curiosity prompted her to tie a piece of vine to the wood and whirl it about her head. Picking up her bundle of firewood she placed the thin blade with the vine attached on top and started homeward. On her way she met her husband, who noticed the blade and enquired the reason for the attached vine. She gave him an illustration. He confiscated it and showed it to several of the headmen. It was a novelty, something which had never been seen before. They decided it should be used as the voice of the god or spirit Liahan. The women was killed and the secret kept only amongst the older men. They said that the omnipotent Liahan was demanding food. When it had been collected this food was taken into the bush and eaten by the headmen and the chiefs.

GORDON THOMAS

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 1935
ON6 Buka ON6
Kurtatchi

These natives do not eat it[A], as do others elsewhere, but they amuse themselves by catching one and trailing it round 136 the village on the end of a string, to a chant of 'Tin-tin-tarum, [524] tin-tin-ta-a-a-a-a-rum'.

The only domestic animals are dogs and pigs. There are no 231 transport animals, no cattle, and no sheep. A horse was imported during my stay for the use of the priest; it caused great excitement among the Kurtatchi people, who called it *wɔ̄s*, having no *h* in their dialect. The dogs, every variety of mongrel, are valued in proportion to their prowess in hunting, and are kept on short rations to make them fierce. The domestic pigs are of the black-skinned, long-snouted variety, and do not differ in appearance from the wild pigs that roam the bush. They are known to their owners individually, are treated as pets, and come to be fed when called.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF THE NATIVES

In the present volume only a brief general account of the personal appearance of the people will be given, as their racial type 142 will be discussed in detail in another publication, in conjunction with the analysis of my series of physical measurements and observations.

The natives of Buka and North Bougainville differ in several respects from their near neighbours, the inhabitants of the south-eastern Solomon Islands. The most obvious difference is in the very much darker skin colour of the northern group, of whom the majority are as nearly black as human skin ever attains. Some [517] individuals, however, possess skins of a somewhat lighter colour with a slightly reddish tinge; this is much admired. The eyes are invariably dark brown. The hair is either black or very dark brown. It usually stands out from the head in a frizzly mop, like that of the natives of New Guinea, but less striking because it is kept shorter. If left uncombed and uncut, as in the case of boys [881 ● who have not finished their puberty ceremonies, it hangs in a series 302] of tight ringlets and may reach below the waist (see Pl. 29). Curly and wavy hair is sometimes seen, and occasionally hair that is almost straight. Facial hair is sparse and bristly. I did not see any natives with a full beard, but some keep a little hair on the upper lip. The majority depilate their facial hair by means of a 302 shell (probably a species of *Tapes*, Pl. 38, no. 7), either a single one used like a razor, or a double one used like a pair of tweezers. They

[A] [i.e., the large, coconut-eating land-crab (Birgus latro?). —Analyst]